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HISTORY
OF
ARIZONA

BY
THOMAS EDWIN FARISH,
ARIZONA HISTORIAN

VOLUME I

PHOENIX, ARIZONA.
1915

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THOMAS EDWIN FARISH,
ARIZONA HISTORIAN

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HISTORY OF ARIZONA

BY

THOMAS EDWIN FARISH

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PREFACE.

ARIZONA—The name is significant. Its derivation is uncertain; all that is known of it is that in the latter part of the seventeenth century it was given to a range of mountains across the border in Northern Sonora, in what was then known as Pimeria Alta, and thereafter was applied to the territory now embraced within the boundaries of the "Baby State."

Its history is in two parts: One, the story of a vanished race, who left behind them a record of achievement in cavate dwellings, the ruins of pueblos, fortifications, abandoned irrigation canals, and hieroglyphics on the Painted Rocks, which, it is claimed, antedate the conquest of England by William the Conqueror, and record the activities of a civilized, cultivated and refined people, who converted the desert into gardens, causing its waste places to contribute to their comfort and happiness; scientists, for thirty or forty years, have been studying these records. The other, beginning with the Spanish explorers of the 16th century, and the successive governments under the Spanish, Mexican and American flags, is the narrative of the building up of a great prosperous commonwealth, the redemption of an empire from savagery to civilization.

This history, as it proceeds, will deal with historic facts in historic times, and the prehistoric records, the story of a lost race, revealed by modern scientists and archaeologists.

No state of this Union has such a background of romance and adventure. Kentucky is called the "Dark and Bloody Ground," but the daring and enterprise of her pioneers are insignificant when compared with the trials, sufferings and heroic endurance of the early settlers of Arizona, who laid, firm and deep, the solid foundations of a great and prosperous commonwealth. In their case the truth, plainly stated, needs no embellishment to enshrine their memories in the hearts of a grateful posterity.

For forty years after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, these pioneers in the wilderness of an unreclaimed territory, warred against the most relentless savages on the continent, and with their blood enriched the land of their adoption. We owe them a debt of gratitude which can never be cancelled. The recital of their deeds, which this history will record, however lacking in literary skill, makes a

story of most absorbing interest. These men settled our valleys and peopled our hills. Of them, the Postons, Woolseys, Ehrenbergs and Walkers, who formed the vanguard of the army of civilization that made Arizona what it is, could be paraphrased what Junius said of Pitt: "Immortal honors crown his monuments and gather o'er them. It is a solid fabric, supported by the laurels that adorn them."

In these volumes will be found a short record of the conquest of California, which England was preparing to seize, and the opening of the Santa Fe Trail, which, while collateral history, had such a bearing upon the fortunes of Arizona, that it could not well be omitted from these pages.

The task assigned me, while difficult, is a labor of love. A library has been written upon the early days of Arizona, most of which is pure fiction. To collate the historical data, separate the wheat from the chaff, and give only authentic facts, has been my object in this work.

Those who have been active in civic affairs, or prominent in our Indian Wars, will be given due credit chronologically as this history progresses.

THOS. EDWIN FARISH.

Phoenix, Arizona, December twenty-second, nineteen hundred fourteen.

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HISTORY OF ARIZONA
VOLUME I.

HISTORY OF ARIZONA.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY SPANISH EXPLORATIONS.

ALVAR NUÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA—ANDRES DORANTES—ALONZO DEL CASTILLO MALDONADO—ESTEVAN—NARVAEZ—INDIANS—AVAVARES—FAITH CURES—ROUTE OF DE VACA—"COW COUNTRY"—DON JOSEPH DE BASCONZALES—EL MORO—(INSCRIPTION ROCK).

The journey of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, Andres Dorantes, Alonzo del Castillo Maldonado, and Estevan, the Arab negro slave of Dorantes, across the continent from near what is now Galveston, Texas, to Culiacan and San Miguel, a few miles from the Pacific coast, as published in the *Relacion* of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, and translated by Fanny Bandelier, with an introduction by Ad. F. Bandelier, is a story full of romance and adventure, exceeded by none of the early Spanish explorers.

These men were the sole survivors of the Narvaez expedition of four hundred men and eighty horses which, in February, 1528, sailed from the coast of Cuba to explore the peninsula of Florida. All the rest lost their lives at the hands of hostile Indian tribes, by disease, or by shipwreck.

De Vaca and his companions were held as captives by the Indians on the eastern coast of

Texas for several years, when they effected their escape. After their escape from the hostile Indians, they came upon another tribe called the Avavares, by whom they were received with the greatest of kindness, being honored as great medicine men. Castillo seems to have been a wonderful healer. His first cure was to relieve an Indian of a pain in his head, by making the sign of the cross and commending the Indian to God. At one time five sick persons were brought into the camp, and the Indians insisted that Castillo should cure them of their ills. At sunset he pronounced a blessing over the sick, and all the Christians united in a prayer to God, asking him to restore the sick to health, and on the following morning there was not a sick person among them.

By such acts as these the Spaniards established a reputation as healers, and they, themselves, were impressed with the belief that the blessings of God were resting upon them, and that they would, in due time, again reach the confines of civilization.

The Spaniards remained among these Indians eight months, going naked during the day, and covering themselves with deer skins at night. Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca also developed the scientific art of healing. One day Castillo was summoned by some Indians to go to their lodges and cure the sick, one of whom was at death's door. Castillo declined to go, and de Vaca and the negro Estevan went in his stead. Arriving at the lodges the Indians declared that the sick man was dead. De Vaca removed the mat that

covered him, breathed upon him and prayed the Lord to restore him to health. According to the Indians' story: "he who had been dead, and for whom I wrought before them, had got up whole and walked, had eaten and spoken with them, and that all to whom I had ministered were well and much pleased."

At another time a man was brought to him badly wounded. The head of an arrow was imbedded in his flesh. Cabeza de Vaca cut out the arrow, sewed up the wound with stitches, which he cut the next day, after which the Indian was fully restored to health.

When the Spaniards left one tribe, they were accompanied by Indians, who promulgated to the next tribe the wonderful powers of these demi-gods, or "Children of the Sun," as they were called. They were received with open arms by all of the natives, and when they reached the Valle de los Corazones, the "Village of the Hearts," their commissary was supplied with six hundred deer hearts.

When they reached the Pacific coast where the Indians, probably the Opata and Pima tribes, showed signs of civilization, living in houses covered with straw, wearing cotton clothes and dressed skins, with belts and ornaments of stone, and cultivating their fields, but had been driven therefrom by the brutal Spanish soldiery and had taken refuge in the mountains, de Vaca and his comrades, being regarded as emissaries from the Almighty, exercised such power over these untutored savages that, at their bidding, the Indians returned to their deserted habitations, and

began again to cultivate their fields, the assurance being given them by de Vaca and his companions that henceforth they would suffer no harm at the hands of the Spaniards.

There is some doubt as to the route pursued by Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions. Twitchell, in his *History of New Mexico*, contends that they crossed the Rio Grande about fifty or sixty miles above the present town of El Paso, thence traveled west to within about the same distance of what is now the eastern border of the State of Arizona, then going south in a southerly direction through Sonora to Culiacan and San Miguel in the State of Sinaloa, Mexico.

Bandelier is very positive that they never touched New Mexico at all, but, after going a little northwest from their starting point and crossing the Rio Colorado in Texas, that they continued their journey in a southwesterly direction, crossing the Pecos river just north of its junction with the Rio Grande and crossing the Rio Grande itself about one hundred and fifty miles south of the present town of El Paso, then continuing west through the Sierra Madre Mountains in Chihuahua and Sonora to the Arras and Mulatos Rivers, which form the headwaters of the Yaqui River, thence south to the Spanish settlements of Culiacan and San Miguel, arriving there on the first of April, 1536, where they were received with open arms by their fellow countrymen.

This is the first Spanish expedition across the North American continent from the Atlantic

Ocean to the Pacific Ocean, and while there is some doubt as to the exact course of the expedition and whether it ever touched any portion of the State of New Mexico in its westward journey, there is no question as to the fact that it never, at any time, came within the boundaries of what is now the State of Arizona.

Cabeza de Vaca must have been a man of great determination and force of character. Never, at any time, did he despair, but, with his three companions, forced his way across the continent. The journey was not fruitless; it was rich in exploration; it gave the Spaniards the first insight into what they called the "cow (buffalo) country," of the rich plains, the rivers and mountains which are fully described in his "Relacion." While he did not claim that the country was rich in precious metals, yet, from other standpoints, it was a great acquisition to the Crown of Spain. He also brought some confirmatory news of the Seven Cities of the Cibola, which excited the cupidity of the Spaniards to such an extent that other expeditions were formed to discover these cities, which were reported to have a wealth of gold and silver as great as that of the Incas of Peru. With the exception of the negro, Estevan, none of the companions of Cabeza de Vaca ever prominently appeared thereafter in Spanish history.

Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca went from Culiacan and San Miguel to the city of Mexico, from which place he returned to Spain, making his report to his royal master, Charles the Fifth. Subsequently he was appointed "Governor of the

settlements on the La Plata river, vacant since the death of Pedro de Mendoza. Reaching his post in 1541, he soon became the object of sinister intrigues on the part of his subordinates. The animosity against him broke out in 1543 in open revolt. He was seized and sent to Spain as a prisoner. His (mild) captivity there lasted eight years. It is asserted that he lived in Sevilla to an advanced age, and occupied up to the time of his demise, (the date of which I have not yet been able to find), an honorable and fairly lucrative position."

While the "Relacion" of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca is the first authentic account of a journey across the North American continent, there seems to have been an earlier expedition, concerning which William A. Bell in his book "New Tracks in North America" on page 205, has the following to say:

"Early in the spring of 1526—ninety-four years before the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England, and thirty-four years after the shores of St. Salvador delighted the eyes of Columbus—Don Joseph de Basconzales crossed the center of Arizona towards the Great Cañon, and penetrated at least as far as Zuni. No record remains of this, the first expedition into the country, but the bare memento of the fact carved on the side of 'El Moro' (Inscription Rock); for none of the expedition ever returned to tell of their adventures. They perished either by the hands of the Indians, or met a more miserable end amongst the labyrinths of chasms still further north, across which naught living but the birds can successfully pass."

CHAPTER II.

EARLY SPANISH EXPLORATIONS (Continued).

JUAN DE LA ASUNSION—ANTONIO DE MENDOZA,
VICEROY—FRA MARCOS DE NIZA—FRA HON-
ORATO—ESTEVEAN—ROUTE OF DE NIZA—KILL-
ING OF ESTEVEAN—CIBOLA—ZUNIS—YAQUIS—
PIMAS.

It is a grave question whether the first entry into Arizona was made by Juan de la Asunsion, or by Estevan, the negro, the former slave of Dorantes, who was sent forward by Fra Marcos de Niza in advance of his expedition to the Seven Cities of Cibola. Bancroft accords this honor to the negro and does not mention the priest.

In an essay upon the subject, A. F. Bandelier, of the Heminway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition, in his "Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States," gives a very exhaustive account of the supposed expedition of Juan de la Asunsion, which leaves us still in doubt as to whether or not such an expedition was ever made. Bandelier sums up his researches in the following paragraph:

"I frankly confess that, while all the evidence presented above does not come up to the requirements of historical certainty, and while I should not be surprised nor disappointed if subsequently proof were furnished that the story originated through a confusion with the reports of Fra Marcos, the present condition of the case

leads me to believe that the journey was really made, that Fra Juan de la Asunsion was the man who performed it, and that he reached as far north as the Lower Gila, and perhaps the lower course of the Colorado of the West; and that consequently there was a discovery of Southern Arizona one year previous to that of New Mexico by Fra Marcos of Niza."

During the year 1536, when Cabeza de Vaca and his companions appeared in Culiacan, which was then the outpost of Spanish civilization in Mexico, Antonio de Mendoza was Viceroy, having succeeded the cruel and avaricious Guzman in that position. Guzman had alienated all the native races from the Spaniards by an attempt to enslave them. The policy of Mendoza was one of friendliness and kindness towards the Indians, and in 1539, he sent forward Marcos de Niza, a native of the city of Niza, in the Duchy of Savoy, accompanied by Fra Honorato, a Savoyard brother, who only accompanied his superior for a short distance, and Estevan, the negro slave, whose liberty had been purchased by Mendoza from his owner Dorantes, as a guide to explore the country lying to the north and, particularly, the Seven Cities of Cibola, which were said to be rich in gold and precious metals. Accompanying them were eight Indians who came with Alvar Nuñez and had been detained in the city of Mexico where they had received instructions in the Christian religion.

The instructions given to Marcos de Niza by the Viceroy were contained in a very able State paper, which Bandelier prints in full. Fra

Marcos de Niza was to assure the Indians whom he met that their rights would be protected, and that there would be no further cruelty practiced against them; that the Spaniards who had been guilty of such conduct had been punished by the Emperor; he was to be careful to note the different native tribes, if they were numerous or not, and if they were dispersed or lived together; the quality and fertility of the land, its climate, the trees and plants, domestic or savage animals, the aspect of the country, whether rugged or level; the streams, if large or small, and the rocks and metals; and of whatever objects it was possible to bring or send samples, to bring or send them in order that His Majesty be informed of everything.

He was to inform himself if there was any knowledge of the seacoast, that to the north as well as that to the south, and if he should reach the coast of the South Sea, he was to bury, at the foot of some strikingly tall tree on the beach of a bay, letters, in which he was to give information of what might seem to him proper, and that he should mark such trees with a cross in order that they might be recognized. He was to do the same thing at the mouths of rivers and on the shores of what might be proper for seaports. If he found some large settlement where it was desirable to erect a monastery and to send thither ecclesiastics fitted for the work of conversion, he was to send word thereof by Indians, or return to Culiacan himself; he was to send the message with due secrecy that there might be no commotion, and that, "in the pacification of what

may be discovered the service of our Lord and the good of the people of the country be properly secured."

He was also instructed to explain to the Indians that he was sent in the name of His Majesty, to tell them that the Spaniards would treat them well, and that they might know the sorrow caused by the information received of the sufferings to which they had been exposed, and that thereafter they would not be slaves nor taken out of the country, but, on the contrary, would be allowed to remain, no harm being done to them.

On the 7th of March, 1539, (old style), Fra Marcos de Niza left Culiacan with his guide, the lay brother, and the Indians above spoken of. Thus escorted, he received a kindly reception as far as Petatlan. The natives everywhere treated him with great kindness, provided food and prepared his camp at night. At Petatlan, his companion, Fra Honorato, fell sick, and he had to leave him there and continue his journey alone.

From Petatlan on, the negro and the Indians whom the Viceroy had sent from Mexico, became the regular escort of Fra Marcos, but the natives of Northern Sinaloa attached themselves to the little caravan in numbers, and their presence was useful for they provided food for the travellers and insured them a kindly reception from the different tribes.

The aborigines who had come from the city of Mexico belonged to the Pima tribe, and consequently spoke a language similar to that of the Yaquis and Mayos, and, above all, of the Opatas,

so these Indians were useful as interpreters and enabled Fra Marcos to hold conversations with the natives along the route as far as the Gila river. His route lay within easy reach of the seacoast, and about twenty-five or thirty leagues northwest from the Rio del Fuerte, as the Petatlan river is called to-day, the explorer was in the country of the Mayos and probably beyond the mouth of the river of that name, where he met the Indians of the Gulf of California, who wore many conch shells suspended from their necks in which there used to be pearls, and, to quote his own words: "When I showed them a pearl which I had taken along, they said there were some of these on those islands, but I did not see any."

An uninhabited country for four days separated the point where he met these islanders from the next Indian tribe, who were greatly surprised to see him, and called him "the man from the Sky," or "from Heaven."

Bandelier thinks this is the expanse between the northern end of the Valley of Bacuachi and the upper course of the San Pedro river in Southern Arizona. Mountain fastnesses, not treeless, but rugged and wild, separate the site of Mututicachi from the present Palominas or Ochoaville on the San Pedro in Arizona.

Estevan had been sent forward from Vacapa, now called Metapa, in Central Sonora, with instructions to proceed to the north fifty or sixty leagues, and then either to return in person or await the arrival of de Niza. These instructions he disobeyed. Bancroft thinks his route was through the Pima Villages near Tucson. Bande-

lier fixes it as crossing the San Pedro river at about the town of Ochoaville, aforementioned, and from thence across the Apache Reservation to the Zuni Villages or towns.

Estevan, however, provided well for the journey of his chief, erecting at stated intervals, sheds for his accommodation. He was accompanied by a large number of Indians and a number of squaws who were given to him by the several tribes.

"It was, therefore, on the last day of May, 1539, that Fra Marcos, when within two or three days' journey of Cibola, according to the statements of his guides, was surprised at meeting one of the Indians who had gone thither with the negro. The man was on his return, and that return was a precipitate flight. He brought sad tidings. Estevan had reached Cibola, but the people of that place had killed him, with many of his escort, and the survivors were fleeing for their lives."

The effect of these tidings was such that the Indians refused to accompany the monk any further, but were finally persuaded to accompany him a day's journey from Cibola through the distribution of presents which he carried along to be given to the citizens of Cibola. Here they encountered two more fugitives "whose bleeding bodies and frightened faces alone told the woeful tale of the dangers from which they had escaped."

It took Fra Marcos some time to induce them to accompany him any further. Finally two of the number agreed to conduct him to a high hill

from which he could see the town of Ahacus, which is identified as that of Hawikuh, a pueblo occupied by the Zunis until 1670, when the Apaches compelled its abandonment. This city de Niza reported to be a well built city with houses of from two to four stories high, laid out in regular streets and squares, with a population as large as that of the city of Mexico at that time.

Having taken possession of the country by building a monument here and there in the name of his Emperor, he returned in hot haste to Culiacan from whence he gave his report of all he had seen and heard: The country of the Yaquis and the Pimas: "An agricultural, pottery-making people, who dressed in cotton and prepared skins, and wore flashy ornaments. They occupied villages on the upper Yaqui, and irrigated by means of artificial canals. The houses were large sized adobes, and the center of the village was frequently occupied by a particularly solid and extensive structure, the walls of which were perforated with loopholes. Thither the inhabitants retreated in case of attack."

Also a description of the people and the lands of the Sonora River and San Pedro Valley; the people of Cibola and of the kingdom of Totoniac, where were houses eleven stories high, built of stone and lime, and where the people dressed in garments of cotton and wool.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY SPANISH EXPLORATIONS (Continued).

NUÑO DE GUZMAN—EXPEDITION ABANDONED—
ANTONIO DE MENDOZA—SEVEN CITIES OF
CIBOLA—FRANCISCO VASQUEZ DE CORONADO—
CAPTAIN MELCHIOR DIAZ—CHICHILTECALE—
CORAZONES (URES) OR THE VILLAGE OF THE
HEARTS—FIGHT WITH INDIANS—GARCIA
LOPEZ DE CARDENAS—HERNANDO DE AL-
VARADO—HERNANDO DE ALARCON—COLORADO
RIVER—RIO DEL TISON—GULF OF CALIFORNIA
—DEATH OF MELCHIOR DIAZ—DON PEDRO
DE TOVAR—GRAND CANYON—QUIVIRA—
ROUTE OF CORONADO—RETURN OF CORONADO.

In the year 1530, Nuño de Guzman, who was President of New Spain, had in his possession an Indian, a native of the Valley of Oxitipar, who was called Tejo by the Spaniards. This Indian said he was the son of a trader who was dead, and that when he was a boy his father had gone into the back country with fine feathers to trade for ornaments, and that when he came back, he brought a large amount of gold and silver, of which there was a large amount in that country. He went with him once or twice, and saw some very large villages which compared with Mexico and its environs. He had seen seven large towns which had streets of silver workers. It took thirty days to go there from his country, through a wilderness in which nothing grew except some very small plants about a span high.

Upon this information Nuño de Guzman gathered an army of 400 Spaniards and 20,000 of the friendly Indians of New Spain, and prepared to explore the country which was already named "The Seven Cities."

They went as far as the province of Culiacan where his government ended, and where the New Kingdom of Galicia then was, but on account of the difficulties encountered in crossing the mountains, and the discouragement of many of the capitalists interested in the expedition, and also on account of political intrigues, this expedition was abandoned.

Six years later, Cabeza de Vaca, and his companions, came to Culiacan. They gave Antonio de Mendoza, who had succeeded to the office of Viceroy in New Spain, an extended account of some of the "powerful villages, four and five stories high, of which they had heard a great deal in the countries they had crossed, and other things very different from what turned out to be the truth."

Upon this information, the expedition of Friar Marcos de Niza was organized, and, as we have seen, reached the country wherein was located the Seven Cities of Cibola, one of which he saw from a distance. Upon the return of Friar Marcos, he gave a most glowing account of the country through which he had passed, much of which was hearsay evidence and greatly exaggerated. The country was described as populous and easy of access, the people, probably the Pima Indians, from hearsay evidence, were said to have gold in plenty out of which they manufactured their

utensils. It was easy enough for Friar Marcos to believe these stories because of his experience in Peru, where the Indians understood the art of metal working, and it also corresponded with the information which had been given prior to this by the Indian, Tejo.

Coronado, who was at this time Governor of New Galicia, by appointment from Mendoza, accompanied Friar Marcos to the city of Mexico, where he gave the Viceroy a succinct account of his travels and discoveries. Friar Marcos was, undoubtedly, very optimistic and easily imposed upon by the Indians, who gave such glowing accounts of the different tribes adjacent to those tribes through which he passed, and also of the wealth of the Seven Cities of Cibola, and, like any other optimist similarly situated, no doubt he was over enthusiastic, consequently his statements, while not intended to be unreliable, were, as events proved, almost entirely without foundation.

Mendoza, seeing an opportunity to add to the dominions of his Sovereign a territory as rich or richer than that of Peru, or that of the Aztecs of Mexico, lost no time in organizing an expedition for its exploration and conquest.

This expedition was organized in the year 1539, and was placed under the charge of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, a native of Salamanca, Spain, and of noble descent, who had already attained some prominence as a soldier and statesman.

Friar Marcos was made a Provincial of the Franciscans, and the Franciscan Order encouraged the expedition.

In the meantime, Captain Melchior Diaz, with a company of cavalrymen, was sent from Culiacan to verify the reports of Friar Marcos, and the army, composed of 300 Spaniards and 700 Indians, was gathered at Compostela, and advanced as far as Culiacan. Diaz went north as far as Chichiltecale (Little Red House), which was, as near as can be determined at present, about thirty miles west from the present town of Safford upon the edge of the Apache Reservation, where he was detained on account of heavy snows in the mountains. From this point he sent word to Coronado that the road was very different from what Marcos de Niza had described it; that there was but little provisions; that the country was very sparsely settled, and that from the point where he was it was thirty or forty days' travel through the wilderness to the Seven Cities.

This news had a discouraging effect upon Coronado and his forces, but the army advanced to Ures, also known as Corazones, or the Village of the Hearts. At this place they were short of provisions, and Coronado sent an expedition into the Sonora Valley to treat with the natives there, receiving a small supply of corn for their immediate use, and being advised that the country from there to Chichiltecale was barren of provisions of any kind except game, he left the main body of his army there, and went ahead with seventy horsemen and a few Indians to Chichiltecale, from which point they crossed through the Apache Reservation to the first village of the Seven Cities.

The army was in poor condition, some of the Indians and slaves had died of starvation en route, and they were all in a famished condition, having only two bushels of corn left.

The first city reached was "a little, crowded village, looking as if it had been crumpled all up together. There are ranch houses in New Spain which make a better appearance at a distance. It is a village of about 200 warriors, is three and four stories high, with the houses small and having only a few rooms, and without a courtyard. One yard serves for each section. The people of the whole district had collected here, for there are seven villages in the province, and some of the others are even larger and stronger than Cibola. These folks waited for the army, drawn up by divisions in front of the village. When they refused to have peace on the terms the interpreters extended to them, but appeared defiant, the 'Santiago' (the warcry of the Spaniards) was given, and they were at once put to flight. The Spaniards then attacked the village, which was taken with not a little difficulty, since they held the narrow and crooked entrance."

The Indians fought with bows and arrows and from the tops of their houses they hurled stones upon the attacking party. During the attack Coronado was knocked down with a large stone, and his life was saved through the efforts of Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas and Hernando de Alvarado, who threw themselves above him and drew him away, receiving the blows of the stones, which were not few. In less than an hour, the

village was captured and a plentiful supply of food, which was the thing they most desired, was discovered. After this the entire province was at peace.

Before the army left Culiacan, Hernando de Alarcon was sent in command of a naval expedition to explore the coast and to co-operate with the land expedition. He proceeded from Acapulco up the Gulf of California, and discovered the Colorado River, following it up in boats quite a distance, some authorities say beyond the junction of the Gila with the Colorado. If he did this he makes no mention of the Gila River, and his explorations were up the river, where he had some difficulties with the natives, which settled the point that California was a peninsula and not an island. Waiting for some time, he sailed for Acapulco on his return.

Friar Marcos had been sent back from Galicia with Captain Diaz and Gallego because Coronado "did not think it safe for him to stay in Cibola, seeing that his report had turned out to be entirely false, because the kingdoms that he had told about had not been found, nor the populous cities, nor the wealth of gold, nor the precious stones which he had reported, nor the fine clothes, nor other things that had been proclaimed from the pulpits."

Melchior Diaz was sent to the Village of the Hearts, with instructions to send the balance of the army located there to Cibola, except a guard of about 80 men, with which he was to establish a military post and remain in command.

Juan Gallego was to go to New Spain with messages for the Viceroy, Friar Marcos accompanying him.

Captain Diaz remained in charge of the town with his eighty men, the balance of the army joining Coronado at Cibola, setting out about the middle of September.

Melchior Diaz also had instructions to organize an expedition and go to the coast to learn what had become of Alarcon and his naval expedition. He took 25 of his most efficient men upon this expedition, leaving in command Diego de Alcaraz, who seems to have been unfitted for the place for, from the time he was placed in command, there was nothing but mutinies and strife. Diaz took guides and went north and west. After journeying about 150 leagues, he came to a province of tall and strong men like giants, who were naked and lived in large straw cabins built underground like smoke houses, with only the straw roof above ground, which they entered at one end and came out at the other. One cabin housed more than a hundred persons, young and old. They ate bread cooked in ashes, as big as the large two pound loaves of Castile. On account of the great cold they carried a great firebrand (tison) in the hand, when going from one place to another, with which they warmed the other hand and the body as well. On this account the large river was called the Rio del Tison (Firebrand River). At the point where they reached the river, it was half a league across. Here Diaz heard that there had been ships seen at a point three days down toward the

sea, and when he reached the place, more than fifteen leagues up the river from the harbor, they found written on a tree: "Alarcon reached this place; there are letters at the foot of this tree." Diaz dug up the letters and learned from them how long Alarcon had waited for news from the army, and that he had gone back with the ships to New Spain, because he was unable to proceed further, since this sea was a bay, which was formed by the Isle of the Marquis, which is called California, and that California was not an island, but a point of the mainland forming the other side of the Gulf.

After going up the river some distance, Diaz started on his return to Corazones, and while on his return, was killed by a lance while driving away a dog which was worrying their sheep.

In the meantime, Coronado found out from the people of Cibola something of their neighbors, and was informed of a province of seven villages, the same as theirs, called "Tusayan," situated twenty-five leagues from Cibola. The villages were high, and the people warlike.

Don Pedro de Tovar, with seventeen horsemen and three or four foot soldiers, was sent out by Coronado to explore these villages, and entered the country quietly, arriving after night-fall and concealing themselves on the edge of the village. In the morning they were discovered by the natives, who came out to meet them with bows, and shields and wooden clubs, drawn up in lines without any confusion. They insisted that the Spaniards should not cross the lines which they had made towards their villages.

While they were talking, some of the Spaniards attempted to cross the lines, and, one of the natives, losing control of himself, struck a horse on the cheek of the bridle with his club, and, urged by Friar John, who accompanied them, the Spaniards gave the cry of "Santiago" and attacked so suddenly, that they ran down many of the Indians, and the others fled to the town in confusion, when the people of the town came out with presents, asking for peace. The captain established his headquarters near the village, and the natives came forward peacefully, saying they had come to give in the submission of the whole province, and wanted him to be friends with them and to accept the presents which they offered him which were some cotton cloth, not much, because they did not make it in that district. They also gave him dressed skins, corn meal, pine nuts, corn and birds of the country. Afterwards they presented some turquoises, but not many. The people of the whole district came together that day and submitted themselves, and they allowed him to enter their villages freely to visit, buy, sell and barter with them.

Like Cibola, this province was governed by an assembly of the oldest men. They had their governors and generals. Here Tovar obtained the information about a large river, and that several days down the river there were some people with very large bodies. Don Pedro de Tovar was not instructed to go further, so he returned from this expedition to Coronado, who dispatched Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas with about twelve companions to go and see the river.

“He was well received when he reached Tusayan and was entertained by the natives, who gave him guides for his journey. They started from here loaded with provisions, for they had to go through a desert country before reaching the inhabited region, which the Indians said was more than twenty days’ journey. After they had gone twenty days, they came to the banks of the river. It seemed to be more than 3 or 4 leagues in an air line across to the other bank of the stream which flowed between them. * * * They spent three days on this bank, looking for a passage down to the river, which looked from above as if the water was 6 feet across, although the Indians said it was half a league wide. It was impossible to descend, for after these three days, Captain Melgosa and one Juan Galeras and another companion, who were the three lightest and most agile men, made an attempt to go down at the least difficult place and went down until those who were above them were unable to keep sight of them. They returned about 4 o’clock in the afternoon, not having succeeded in reaching the bottom on account of the great difficulties which they found, because what seemed to be easy from above was not so, but instead was very hard and difficult. They said that they had been down about a third of the way and that the river seemed very large from the place which they reached, and that from what they saw, they thought the Indians had given the width correctly. Those who stayed above had estimated that some huge rocks on the sides of the cliffs seemed to be about as tall as a man, but those

who went down swore that when they reached these rocks, they were bigger than the great tower of Seville. They did not go further up the river, because they could not get water."

Thus we have, as related by Casteñada, the historian of the Coronado expedition, a brief outline of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, at that time called the Tison (Firebrand) River, which was discovered by Melchior Diaz and his company.

On their return Cardenas and his companions saw some water falling over a rock, and learned from the guides that some bunches of crystals which were hanging there were salt, of which they gathered a quantity and brought it back to Cibola, dividing it among those who were there. They gave a written report of the expedition to the commanding general. The villages of that province remained peaceful since they were never visited again, nor was any other exploration made in that direction.

This, I think, comprises all the explorations or discoveries made by Coronado in what is now the state of Arizona, but he extended his explorations east, taking possession of all the Pueblo villages, which Casteñada says were sixty-six in number, with a population of over twenty thousand.

The army reached Tiguex, where they met an Indian whom the Spaniards called the Turk, who told them fabulous stories of the great richness in gold and silver of the District of Quivira, of which he claimed to be a native. An expedition was organized to explore it under the guidance

of the Indian, who led them a wild goose chase across the plains of New Mexico, Texas and Kansas to near the southern boundary of the State of Nebraska. Of course, the stories of the Turk were proven false, he confessing that he had misled Coronado at the instigation of the Indians whom he had left behind, the intention being to lead the Spaniards into a wild country where they could be starved out and easily captured.

The Indian, of course, was killed.

While there was no immediate advantage to the Spanish Crown in the discovery of gold and silver, yet the expedition of Coronado was not unfruitful in ultimate results for it extended the Spanish domain in the New World over a very wide area of country, extending, as I have said, north to near the boundary line of Nebraska, south to within a hundred miles of Austin, in Texas, all New Mexico, and a portion of Colorado.

Bancroft lays out a route for Coronado from Ures (Corazones, or the Village of the Hearts), to Cibola, which would have carried him farther west through the Pima Villages, thence northwest to within about ten miles of what is now known as the Casa Grande, which Bancroft says Coronado may have seen. This seems utterly improbable, however, for had the general been cognizant of these ruins, it is hardly possible that he should not have mentioned them in some of his official dispatches, or that they should not have been named by Casteñada, the historian of the expedition, and others who wrote about it. The route I have adopted is that approved by

such eminent scholars as Bandelier, Winship and others, which, commencing at Ures, went northeast, following the course of the Sonora River, entering Arizona about fifty miles from its eastern boundary. After entering Arizona, Coronado followed the course of the San Pedro River for some leagues, and then branched off to the northeast, passing through "The Wilderness," now the Apache Reservation, turning still more to the east at the site of Fort Apache, and thence across the New Mexican line to the Seven Cities of Cibola, or the Zuni villages.

"In the spring of 1542, Coronado started back with his men to Cibola-Zuni, through the rough mountain passages of the Gulf of California, and so on down to the city of Mexico, where he arrived in the early autumn, 'very sad and very weary, completely worn out and shamefaced.' "

Utterly unconscious that he had written his name among the immortals, he resigned from the governorship and retired to his estates. There is no further mention of his name in the annals of New Spain.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY SPANISH EXPLORATIONS (Continued).

ANTONIO DE ESPEJO—ROUTE OF ESPEJO—MOQUIS
—MINES NEAR PRESCOTT—JUAN DE OÑATE
—FITS OUT EXPEDITION AT OWN EXPENSE—
RESULT OF FIRST EXPEDITION—FOUNDS CITY
OF SANTE FE—OÑATE'S SECOND EXPEDITION
—OÑATE'S THIRD EXPEDITION—JEALOUSY OF
ENEMIES—OBSTACLES AND DELAYS—AIDED BY
FRIENDS—JUAN GUERRA—DONA EUFEMIA
PENALOSA—AÑA DE MENDOZA—NEPOTISM OF
OÑATE—RIO GRANDE—EL PASO DEL NORTE—
SOCORRO—ABO PUEBLOS—PURUAI (SAN AN-
TONIO)—SUBMISSION OF INDIANS—SAN JUAN
—FURTHER SUBMISSION OF INDIANS—RE-
VOLT OF ACOMA INDIANS—THEIR PUNISH-
MENT—PRAISE OF ARIZONA—ZUNI PROV-
INCE—RIO DEL TISON—CRUZADOS—OÑATE
REACHES TIDEWATER—PUEBLO DE LA CON-
VERSION DE SAN PABLO—OÑATE'S RETURN—
SANTA FE.

The military post established by Melchior Diaz in the Sonora Valley, at or near the Corazones (Ures), having been captured and destroyed by the Indians before Coronado's return, the limits of New Spain remained the same as before his expedition, Culiacan being its farthest northern limit. The discovery of the rich silver mines of Zacatecas was made about the year 1542, which gave an impetus to mining in every part of New Spain, owing to which there was no fur-

ther attempt made to explore the country discovered by Coronado for forty years, or until about 1580, when Antonio de Espejo organized an expedition at his own expense to search for three Franciscan fathers who were supposed to have been killed by the Indians. Accompanying this expedition was Fra Beltran. It is more than probable that Espejo, in making this expedition, was not entirely controlled by a desire to be of service to his church. He was a miner who had acquired great wealth in that vocation, and, like all prospectors, was ever ready to embark upon new enterprises which promised a reasonable return.

Espejo was a native of Cordova, Spain, and a resident of the city of Mexico. He was at Santa Barbara when he organized this expedition, and, with fourteen men, he penetrated the wilds of New Mexico, going through the Zuni villages and from thence to the Moqui villages, an account of which is contained in Bell's "New Tracks in North America," which seems to have been copied by Bancroft, and is as follows:

"Twenty-four leagues westward from Acoma, they arrived at Zuni, by the Spaniards called Cibola, containing great numbers of Indians. Here were three Christian Indians, left by Coronado in 1540. They informed Espejo that 'three score days' journey from this place there was a mighty lake, upon the banks whereof stood many great and good towns, and that the inhabitants of the same had plenty of gold, as shown by their wearing golden bracelets and earrings.' They said that Coronado intended to have gone there,

but having travelled twelve days' journey, he began to want water, and returned. Espejo, desirous of seeing this rich country, departed from Cibola, and having travelled twenty-eight leagues west, found another great province of about fifty thousand souls. As they approached a town called Zaguato, the multitude, with their caciques, met them with great joy, and poured maize upon the ground for the horses to walk upon, and they presented the captain with forty thousand mantles of cotton, white and coloured, and many hard towels with tassels at the four corners, and rich metals which seemed to contain much silver. Thence traveling due west forty-five leagues, they found mines, of which they had been informed, and took out with their own hands rich metals containing silver. The mines, which were on a broad vein, were in a mountain easily ascended by an open way to the same. In the vicinity of the mines, there were numerous Indian pueblos. Hereabout they found two rivers (probably the Colorado Chiquito and Rio Verde) of a reasonable bigness, upon the banks whereof grew many vines, bearing excellent grapes, and great groves of walnut trees, and much flax, like that of Castile. Captain Espejo then returned to Zuni."

I may be permitted to remark that the Moquis, having increased from a population of 4,000 at the time of Coronado's expedition in 1541, to 50,000 in 1581, was apparently an extremely prolific race, hardly excelled by the record made by the Jews during their Egyptian captivity.

The mines which Espejo discovered are supposed to have been somewhere near the base of the San Francisco mountains and not far from the present city of Prescott.

Espejo returned to New Spain in 1583, and undoubtedly his report of the country through which he passed gave rise to the expedition of Juan de Oñate.

Juan de Oñate, the colonizer of New Mexico, was born in Zacatecas, Mexico, of a wealthy family, who owned at Zacatecas, some of the richest mines in the world. His father was a conquistador, Don Christobal. Don Juan married Doña Isabel, daughter of Juan de Tolosa, a granddaughter of Cortes, and great-granddaughter of Montezuma. Of his explorations Lummis, in his "Spanish Pioneers," gives the following account:

"Despite the 'golden spoon in his mouth,' Oñate desired to be an explorer. The Crown refused to provide for further expeditions into the disappointing north; and about 1595, Oñate made a contract with the viceroy of New Spain to colonize New Mexico at his own expense. He made all preparations and fitted out his costly expedition. Just then a new viceroy was appointed, who kept him waiting in Mexico with all his men for over two years, ere the necessary permission was given him to start. At last, early in 1597, he set out with his expedition—which had cost him the equivalent of a million dollars, before it stirred a step. He took with him four hundred colonists, including two hundred soldiers, with women and children, and

herds of sheep and cattle. Taking formal possession of New Mexico, May 30, 1598, he moved up the Rio Grande to where the hamlet of Chamita now is (north of Santa Fe), and there founded in September of that year, San Gabriel de los Españoles (St. Gabriel of the Spaniards), the second town in the United States.

Oñate was remarkable not only for his success in colonizing a country so forbidding as this then was, but also as an explorer. He ransacked all the country round about, travelled to Acoma and put down a revolt of the Indians and, in 1600, made an expedition into Nebraska.

In 1604, with thirty men, he marched from San Gabriel across that grim desert to the Gulf of California, and returned to San Gabriel in April, 1605. By that time the English had penetrated no farther into the interior of America than forty or fifty miles from the Atlantic coast.

In 1605 Oñate founded Santa Fe, the City of the Holy Faith of St. Francis, about whose age a great many foolish fables have been written. The city actually celebrated the three hundred and thirty-third anniversary of its founding twenty years before it was three centuries old.

In 1606 Oñate made another expedition to the far northeast, about which expedition we know almost nothing; and in 1608, he was superseded by Pedro de Peralta, the second governor of New Mexico.

Oñate was of middle age when he made this very striking record. Born on the frontier, used to the deserts, endowed with great tenacity, coolness and knowledge of frontier warfare, he was

the very man to succeed in planting the first considerable colonies in the United States at their most dangerous and difficult points."

The following account is condensed from Bancroft, and taken from all accessible authorities, mainly from a book published in 1610, and from documents obtained in modern times from the Spanish archives, and, as Bancroft says: "Now utilized practically for the first time in writing the history of New Mexico."

From this account it appears that Oñate was not the unselfish hero that Lummis describes, but was not without selfish motives in his patriotic desire to colonize and conquer the territory which had heretofore been explored by Coronado and Espejo, and to extend the dominion of the church.

According to Gregg's resume of the memorial made by Oñate to the Crown, Oñate offered to raise 200 men, and to supply at his own expense livestock, implements, merchandise, and one year's provisions for the colony. In return he asked for himself the titles of governor, etc., for five lives; 30 leagues of land with all the vassals thereon; a salary of 8,000 ducats annually, and exemption from the crown tax for working mines; for his family hereditary nobility and liberal encomiendas; for his army, arms and ammunition; for his officers, repartimientos of native laborers for his colony, a loan of 20,000 pesos from the royal treasury, and for the spiritual wellbeing of all, 6 friars and the fitting church accoutrements. He also asked for instructions respecting the forcible conversion of

gentiles and the collection of tribute. Gregg does not indicate what demands were granted or declined in the marginal note, nor is it apparent whether this was the original arrangement, or the final one, as modified by a new viceroy. It is stated in the N. Mex. Mem. 188-9, that Velasco accepted the offer by indorsing the several articles of the petition in marginal notes. Villagra (the poet-historian of the expedition), says that Oñate got 4,000 dollars in money; Torquemada and Calle add also 6,000 dollars as a loan. (Marginal note, Bancroft's "Arizona and New Mexico," pp. 116-7). Concerning which Bancroft says: "Oñate's petition and contract are not extant; but the former with marginal notes of approval and dissent was seen by Gregg at Santa Fe; and his brief resume, confirmed by incidental allusions in other documents, shows that the contract did not differ materially from the earlier ones that have been described. The empresario agreed to raise a force of 200 men or more at his own expense; but seems to have been furnished by the king with a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, and even a sum of money, being also authorized to confiscate the property of Bonilla and other adventurers (who had preceded him into New Mexico without the authority of the Crown) if he could catch them. He was made governor, adelantado, and captain-general of the territories to be colonized; and his somewhat extravagant claims for honors, titles, lands and other emoluments, were freely granted by Velasco so far as the royal instructions would permit."

This was about the year 1595. The contract signed, Don Juan secured the support of the highest officials and most influential men of Mexico, Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya and invoked the aid of his four brothers and his four nephews, the Zaldivars, with other active friends, and began to recruit an army, by no means a long and difficult task. Captain Vicente Zaldivar was made sargento mayor, and unfurled his enlistment banner in the grand plaza of Mexico with a salute of artillery. The scenes of '30 and '40 under Guzman and Coronado were repeated; recruits came from all directions, attracted by the favorable terms offered and the hope of wealth and fame in the north. The ranks were soon full. Success was assured, and preparations were made for an early departure when a change of viceroys occurred, the Count of Monterey succeeding Velasco. Oñate's brilliant prospects and the unusual powers granted him created jealousy; his foes and rivals at once banding together, had more influence over the new viceroy than over the old one. Before he reached the capital, Monterey asked for a delay, but after Velasco had explained the matter by letter, consented to a completion of the arrangements. Arriving and taking possession of his office on November 5th, Monterey proceeded leisurely to investigate the adelantado's fitness for his position and the truth of certain charges made against him. The exact nature of the charges is not explained, but soon everyone not interested in the enterprise itself, seems to have had something to say against Don Juan. The leader of

the opposition, Pedro Ponce de Leon, wishing to undertake the conquista, wrote the king on December 20th, asking that ratification of Oñate's project be delayed until new information was obtained. The poet's narrative of these and similar complications, says Bancroft, is confirmed by documents from the Spanish archives.

Eventually the viceroy approved his predecessor's contract with certain modifications, insisting particularly that Oñate should not, as he demanded, be independent of the audiencia in the administration of justice, or of the viceroy in war and finance, which seems to have been a proper curtailment of his powers, for had the demands of Oñate been complied with, he would have been an absolute despot in the country over which he was appointed to rule.

Preparations were now actively renewed for the march, but when the modifications alluded to became known to some members of the colony, whose privileges were more or less curtailed, a new storm of complaints gathered, of which Oñate's foes did not fail to take advantage. To escape these, he made haste to begin his march northward. "In June, 1596, Lope de Ulloa y Lemos was commissioned by Monterey to make a visita general, or inspection and inventory. Ulloa was also instructed to remove the army from the settlements on account of certain complaints of disorderly conduct, and he began his inspection in July, appointing Francisco de Esquivel as assistant or comisario," which caused a delay, but the viceroy had sent a friendly letter, assuring the governor that the visita was a mere

formality, and soon the force moved on, a part to the Caxco, or Taxco, mines in Durango, and the rest still farther to the San Bartolome Valley.

A year had now passed since the contract was signed and the colony had been considerably reduced during the delay. A courier was daily expected with orders to march, and at last he came on the 9th of September, with a sealed packet for Ulloa, which the general and his army thought was an order to advance. Their disappointment can well be imagined when the packet was found to be, instead of an order to march, a royal order directing the suspension of the entrada until the receipt of further instructions, which was caused by the viceroy's letter of the past December and the negotiations with Ponce de Leon. Enclosed was the viceroy's letter of August 12th to Ulloa, instructing that officer to make known the king's will, and to order Oñate, under the severest penalty, including the revocation of all past concessions, to make no further advance. In October came a repetition of this order. The governor promised to obey, although his expenses for the expedition, thus far, had been 500,000 ducats. Concealing the bad news from his army, he joined in their festivities, having no thought of giving up his enterprise. His friend Juan Guerra, came to his assistance, and generously offered to bear a portion of the heavy expense entailed by this new delay, which was destined to last over a year. It was, unquestionably, a pre-concerted plan of his enemies, by delays and unusual obstructions to cause the forfeiture of his contract. One visita followed another, and

to protests against the delay on the part of Oñate and his friends, the viceroy always replied that he could not act without royal orders. Concerning this delay and its causes, Bancroft says:

“The adelantado’s foes wished of course to break up the expedition altogether, and at times such was the policy of the government as well, but at other times there seemed to be a desire to keep the force together until Ponce de Leon or some other royally favored individual could be in some way given the command. Padre Duran became discouraged and left the company with most of his friars in spite of all remonstrances. But amid all troubles, Oñate, if we may credit his somewhat partial biographer (Villagra, the poet), stood firm as a rock, sustained by his friends, and by the influence of Doña Eufemia, the beautiful wife of Alferez Penaloza, who publicly harangued the men, urging them to imitate the fortitude of their leader. Some were mutinous, and bent on going to New Mexico in spite of the king’s prohibition; but cutting off the head of their leader checked the ardor of this party.”

In 1597, came orders to get ready to start and to submit to the final visita. In September, Juan Frias de Salazar was commissioned as visitador, Esquivel retaining his position as comisario, and in December, when the army was reunited at the Santa Barbara mines, the final inspection began.

Here let me remark that there seems to have been as much politics in New Spain at this time as there was in Arizona at any time during her territorial vassalage, which, as we proceed, will be found to be “going some.” Every viceroy ap-

pointed was surrounded by a clique of enemies, endeavoring at all times to accomplish his overthrow; the same with the governors. This may account for the fact that the viceroy instructed Salazar, secretly, to deal as leniently as possible with Oñate, disregarding small deficiencies, for the records show there was a deficiency in both supplies and men, of the latter only 130 remaining. To cover this deficiency, it was decided that the viceroy should raise 80 men at Oñate's expense, Juan Guerra and his wife, Aña de Mendoza, becoming sureties, and about this number were indeed sent north the next year.

The final inspection was concluded on the 20th of January, 1598, and the army started northward six days later, and on the 30th reached the Conchos. They remained in camp on the Conchos for a week, getting rid of the visitador, who is said to have departed without bidding the colonists good-bye, and also having to part with Padre Marquez, their confessor. Arrangements having been made for a new band of 10 Franciscans, these friars, under Padre Alonzo Martinez, as comisario, came north with Captain Farfan and his party, who had escorted Padre Marquez on his return, and joined the army soon after the start.

It would seem that Oñate was somewhat of a nepotist, his relatives occupying the principal positions in the command. Don Christobal de Oñate, son of Don Juan, a youth of ten years, accompanied the expedition as *teniente de gobernador y capitan general*; Juan de Zaldivar was master of the camp, and Don Vicente, his

brother, was sargento mayor. There were 83 wagons in the train, and 7,000 head of cattle.

From the Conchos, Oñate proceeded north to the Rio Bravo. Two exploring parties were sent out in advance to find a way for the wagons. The progress of the wagons was naturally slow, but there were no adventures or calamities. This was the first exploration of northern Chihuahua. On the 20th of April, the expedition reached the Rio Grande, and on the last day of the month, a few leagues up the river on the western bank, Oñate, with all the complicated and curious ceremonies deemed essential in such cases, took formal possession for God, the King and himself, of New Mexico and all the adjoining provinces. These ceremonies were accompanied with imposing religious ceremonies, including mass in a chapel built for the occasion, and a sermon by the padre comisario. On the 4th of May, 1598, 25 miles above the point where they first reached the Rio Grande, the Spaniards were shown by the natives a ford, which the army crossed to the eastern bank. Bancroft says:

“I have no doubt that this ‘ford of the river of the north’ was the original El Paso del Norte, a name that has been retained ever since for the locality where the river leaves the territory which is now New Mexico.”

From the 5th to the 20th, the army marched slowly up the river on the eastern side for fifteen and a half leagues, where Captain Aguilar joined them upon his return from an advance exploration, having reached the first pueblos and entered one against the orders of his chief, who pardoned

him at the intercession of his men. Fearing the natives might run away with all their food supplies, Oñate with the Zaldivars, Villagra, padres Salazar and Martinez, and fifty men, started on the 22d, and after journeying about 25 leagues in six days, reached the first group of the pueblos, the southernmost group, which is now named Socorro, occupying three pueblos of which the names of only two are given, to wit: Teipana and Qualacu. The natives extended a welcome to Oñate and his troop, and furnished them with supplies of maize, which desirable "socorro" was sent back to the main camp. It was the middle of June when Oñate and his advance party left what may be regarded as the first group of towns.

The next advance was seven leagues up the river to a small pueblo called Nueva Seville, where they remained a week, while the Zaldivars were exploring the Abo pueblos. The Abo pueblo ruins are located about latitude $34^{\circ} 30'$, twenty-five or thirty miles east of the river. Seville was not far from the junction of the Rio Puercos, according to Bancroft.

On the 22d of June, they advanced four leagues to an abandoned pueblo, which they named San Juan Bautista. Here the general heard of two Mexican Indians left by Castaño, and started northward on the 25th in search of them, reaching Puruai, named San Antonio, in a journey of 16 leagues, where the friars were lodged in a newly painted room. In the morning, they beheld on the walls lifelike portraits of the murdered priests, Rodriguez and Lopez, murdered seventeen years before. The two

Mexicans, Tomas and Cristobal, were brought in from another pueblo, and were thereafter used as interpreters by the Spaniards.

Before the end of June, they visited other pueblos and established their headquarters at Guipui, or Santo Domingo. On the 7th of July, seven Indian chiefs, representing thirty-four pueblos, visited the Spaniards at Santo Domingo, acknowledging the supremacy of their new masters, temporal and spiritual. Tomas and Cristobal acted as interpreters and explained minutely "the material prosperity and eternal happiness that must result from being 'good,' and submitting cheerfully to Felipe II, and God, as contrasted with present disaster and future damnation, inseparably connected with refusal; and the chiefs, disposed to be friendly or fearing the strangers' guns and horses, even if they had some lingering doubts respecting the political and doctrinal theories presented, humbly kneeled and swore the required allegiance, as was duly recorded in a ponderous document."

On July 9th, the army left the pueblo, and two days later reached San Juan, identical, or nearly so, with the pueblo still bearing that name, near the junction of the Rio Grande and the Rio Chama, just above latitude 36°, where, from the courtesy extended by the natives, the town was called San Juan de los Caballeros, and was, for several years, the Spanish capital, or center of operations. The name San Gabriel was applied by the friars to their establishment here, or, more probably, to another pueblo not far distant. It is not my intention to give the entire route of

Oñate through New Mexico, but suffice it to say that upon Oñate's return from another exploration through the different pueblos, on the 11th of August, work was begun on the ditches required to bring water for the city of San Francisco, "which it was determined to found, some 1500 Indians assembling to aid in the labor." It is believed that the city was at or near the immediate vicinity of San Juan, and not at Santa Fe, where the city was really built in later years. Bancroft also says: "I find not the slightest reason to date the founding of Santa Fe from 1598." The last of the colonists arrived at San Juan de los Caballeros on the 18th of August.

From August 23d to September 7th, a church was built, which was dedicated on the 8th with great ceremonies, terminating with a sham battle between Christians and Moors, which is probably the first church ever erected in New Mexico. Here, at a general meeting of the native chiefs, including not only those who had before submitted, and who came to renew their formal submission, but many others, after a full explanation of the system by which the Almighty was represented in New Mexico, en lo temporal through the king by Oñate, and en lo spiritual through the pope by the padre comisario, "They also expressed the joy with which they would receive the friars at their pueblos as spiritual teachers and masters, after listening to the cheering assurance that if they refused or disobeyed the padres, they would all be burned alive, besides burning later in hell." Villagra, however, says that while they submitted cheer-

fully to the king, they told the padre comisario that so far as the new faith was concerned, they had no objection to adopting it, if, after proper instructions, they found it desirable. Thereupon Padre Martinez proceeded to apportion the pueblos among his colaborers.

The number of pueblos represented was reported to be about 170, which Bancroft thinks was greatly exaggerated. After the general assembly and its attendant festivities, Vicente Zaldivar was sent with fifty men to explore the buffalo plains east, about which we are not, at present, concerned.

On the 23d of October, the general started from Puarai on a western tour, accompanied by Padre Martinez, and four days later received the obediencia of Acoma. The formal submission of the pueblo having been received, Oñate continued his march to Zuni and to Mohoqui, where formal submissions were rendered by the native chieftains on the 9th and 15th of November.

Of Oñate's western exploration in what is now Arizona, we know little. He was everywhere hospitably entertained by the natives with great hunts to furnish diversion and game for their guests. A party under Captains Farfan and Quesada was sent out from Moqui in search of mines, which were found in a well watered country some thirty leagues westward, probably in the region previously explored by Espejo. They found salt deposits, and, according to Villagra, pearl-oyster shells, which caused the belief that the coast was not far distant. The general had intended to reach the ocean on this tour, and

had sent orders to Juan Zaldivar to turn over the command at San Juan to his brother, Vicente, as soon as the latter should arrive from the plains, and to join the general in the west with thirty men. Don Vicente returned from the plains on the 8th of November, and on the 18th Don Juan set out as ordered to join Oñate.

Through the efforts of Zutucapan, a patriotic chieftain at Acoma, a conspiracy was formed to test the invulnerability of the Spaniards by attacking them on their arrival, having first taken the precaution to scatter them where they would fall an easy prey. This was the condition of affairs at Acoma when Zaldivar and his companions approached the peñol. The natives met them with gifts and every demonstration of friendly feeling. They offered all the supplies that were needed, and next day the soldiers, not suspecting treachery, were sent in small parties to bring in the provisions from different parts of the pueblo. A loud shout from the Indians gave the first warning to the master of the camp of his peril. He wished to order a retreat, and thus, in his leader's absence, avoid the responsibility of open war, but another officer, whose name is not mentioned, but who was severely blamed by Villagra and accused of subsequent cowardice, opposed him until it was too late and retreat was impossible.

A desperate hand to hand fight of three hours ensued, in which Zaldivar fell under the clubs of Zutucapan; the natives set up a cry of victory; five surviving Spaniards fled to the edge of the mesa and leaped down the cliff; four of them

reached the plain alive. Three others had escaped from the peñol, and all joined Alferez Casas, who was guarding the horses. Captain Tabora was sent to overtake Oñate; others went to warn the padres at their different stations, while the rest bore the sad tidings back to San Juan. Solemn funeral rites for the dead were hardly completed when Tabora returned, with news that he could not find the Governor. Thereupon Alferez Casas and three companions, volunteered for the service, and, after many difficulties, met Oñate near Acoma. With the least possible delay, he called together the several bands of explorers, and marched his army carefully back to San Juan, where he arrived safely on December 21st.

“Formal proceedings were now instituted before Juan Gutierrez Bocanegra, appointed alcalde for the occasion, against the rebels, and after the friars had given a written opinion respecting the elements of a just war and the rights of victors over a vanquished people, it was decided that Captain Vicente de Zaldivar be sent against Acoma; that the inhabitants of the town must be forced to give up the arms of the murdered soldiers, to leave their peñol, and to settle on the plains; that the fortress must be burned, and that all who might resist must be captured and enslaved. Seventy brave men were selected for the service under officers including Captains Zubia, Romero, Aguilar, Farfan, Villagra and Marquez, Alferez Juan Cortez, and Juan Velarde as secretary. This army started on the 12th of January, 1599, and on the 21st arrived

at Acoma, Villagra with twelve men, visiting Cia on the way for supplies. * * *

“At Acoma, the followers of Zutucapan were exultant, and succeeded in creating a popular belief that their past victory was but the prelude to a greater success which was to annihilate the invaders and free the whole country. Gicombo, a prominent chieftain, who had neither taken part in nor approved the first attack, and had many misgivings for the future, called a general assembly of chiefs, to which were invited certain leaders not belonging to Acoma. It seems to have been tacitly understood that after what had happened, war could not be averted, and all were ready for the struggle, but Gicombo, Zutancalpo, and Chumpo urged the necessity of removing women and children, and of other extraordinary precautions. Zutucapan and his party, however, ridiculed all fears, and boastingly proclaimed their ability to hold the peñol against the armies of the universe. When Zaldivar drew near, crowds of men and women were seen upon the walls dancing stark naked in an orgy of defiance and insult.”

When Zaldivar arrived, he sent a summons through Tomas, the interpreter, to the rulers of Acoma, to come down and answer for the murder they had committed. Upon their refusal, the Spaniards pitched their tents on the plain and prepared for an assault. For two or three days the battle raged, and on the last day of the battle, the buildings of the pueblo were in flames, and hundreds killed each other in their desperation, or threw themselves down the cliff and perished,

rather than yield. On the 24th of September, the Spaniards gained full possession of the pueblo, which they destroyed, and, at the same time, slaughtered the inhabitants as a punishment for their sin of rebellion, although a remnant of six thousand, under the venerable Chumpo, according to Villagra, were permitted to surrender and settle on the plains.

Thus was the pride of this valiant pueblo broken forever, for evidently it seemed hopeless for other New Mexican communities to attempt a revolution in which this cliff town with all its natural advantages, had failed to accomplish. From the fall of Acoma in 1599, to the general revolt of 1680, the record is lost, the data having been destroyed in the revolt.

On the 2d of March, 1599, the governor wrote to the viceroy an outline of what he had accomplished, and described the land he had conquered, sending samples of its products. The western region, since known as Arizona, was highly praised by him as a land of great fertility and mineral promise. At the same time he asked for an increase of force with which to win for Spain the rich realms that must lie just beyond. So far as New Mexico was concerned, his letter was intended to influence the viceroy and the king, it being evident that success was dependent upon increased resources. In response to a letter from the viceroy, the king, by a cedula, dated May 31st, 1600, ordered him to give all possible support and encouragement to the New Mexico enterprise. While it is possible the re-enforce-

ments were sent, yet there is no positive evidence to that effect.

After the lesson taught at Acoma, Oñate, in his capitol at San Juan, was left in undisputed possession of New Mexico, but internal troubles among the soldiers, the colonists and the religio, gave much trouble to him. With this, however, we are not particularly concerned, as it does not properly relate to Arizona.

After these troubles had been adjusted by appeal to the viceroy and the king, having most of his 200 men reunited at San Juan, with possibly a small re-enforcement brought by Zaldivar, the governor started, on October 7th, 1604, on a western expedition, in which he was accompanied by Padres Escobar and San Buenaventura, the former the new comisario. He visited the Zuni province "more thickly settled by hares and rabbits than by Indians," from which the explorers went to the five Moqui towns with their 450 houses and people clad in cotton. Ten leagues to the westward, they crossed a river flowing from the southeast to the northwest, the Colorado Chiquito, called Colorado from the color of its water, which, no doubt, gave that name to the larger river at that time known as the Rio del Tison (Firebrand River). The place of crossing was called San Jose and farther to the southwest they crossed two other rivers which were branches of the Rio Verde in the region north of Prescott, where Espejo had been twenty-three years before. The country was very attractive and its people wore little crosses hanging from the hair on the forehead and were therefore

called Cruzados. The Indians informed Oñate that the sea was twenty days or 100 leagues distant, and was reached by going in two days to a small river, flowing into a larger one, which, itself, flowed into the sea. The general travelled west about fifteen leagues to the Santa Maria, or Bill Williams' Fork, which he followed to its junction with the Colorado, though they seemed to have no idea that there was any connection between the great river which they called Rio Grande de Buena Esperanza, or Good Hope, and the one they had already named Rio Colorado, but they knew it was the one which long ago had been called the Rio del Tison by Melchior Diaz.

For some distance above and below this junction lived the Mohaves. Captain Marquez went up the river for a short distance, then the whole party followed the bank south, the natives being friendly, to the mouth of the Gila, below which they followed the Colorado for twenty leagues to the Gulf of California. The country was thickly populated, being inhabited by several tribes, in manners and language very similar, the population on the eastern bank alone being placed at 20,000.

Oñate reached tidewater on January 23d, 1605, and on the 25th, with the friars and nine men, he went down to the mouth of the Colorado, where he reported a fine harbor, formed by an island in the center, in which he thought a thousand ships could ride at anchor, and which he christened Puerto de la Conversion de San Pablo. The rest of the company came down to see the port, after which the explorers began

their return by the same route to New Mexico. Their return was not unattended by hardships for they had to eat their horses, but they arrived safely at San Gabriel on the 25th of April.

Oñate ceased to rule as governor in New Mexico in 1608, and was succeeded by Pedro de Peralta. Between 1605 and 1616, was founded the villa of Santa Fe, or San Francisco de la Santa Fe. "The modern claim" says Bancroft, "that this is the oldest town in the United States rests entirely on its imaginary annals as an Indian pueblo before the Spanish Conquest."

CHAPTER V.

EARLY SPANISH MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES.

THE MOQUIS—FRANCISCAN FRIARS—MISSIONS—
 FATHER EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO—NUESTRA
 SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES—FATHER JUAN
 MARIA DE SALVATIERRA—SOBAIPURIS—GUE-
 VAVI—TUMACACORI—SAN XAVIER DEL BAC—
 PIMA INDIANS—IMMACULATE CONCEPTION—
 ST. ANDREW—SAN PEDRO Y SAN PABLO DE
 TUBUTAMA—SARIC—TUCUBABIA—SANTA
 MARIA DE SUAMCA—COCOSPERA—CASAS
 GRANDES—SAN DIONISIO—JESUITS—FR. FE-
 LIPE SEGESSER—FR. JUAN BAPTISTA GRASS-
 HOFFER—FR. GASPAR STEIGER—FR. JOSE
 CARUCHO—FR. FRANCISCO PAVER—FR.
 IGNACIO KELLER—FR. JACOB SEDELMAIR—
 REVOLT OF PIMAS—FR. ALONZO ESPINOSA—
 FR. IGNACIO PFEFFERKORN—FR. JIMENO—
 FR. PEDRO RAFAEL DIAZ—TUCSON—SANTA
 BARBARA—BUENA VISTA—CALABAZAS—FR.
 BARERA—EXPULSION OF JESUITS.

The first natives of Arizona to submit to Span-
 ish authority were the Moquis, who occupied the
 territory which at that time was known as the
 province of Tusayan. These Indians had prac-
 tically the same habits, customs and government
 as the Indians of Cibola. They were very intel-
 ligent and far advanced in civilization. Their
 houses were ordinarily three or four stories high,
 but some were seven stories. Of them, Caste-
 ñada says: "They cover their privy parts and all

the immodest parts with cloths made like a sort of table napkin, with fringed edges and a tassel at each corner, which they tie over the hips. They wear long robes of feathers and of the skins of hares and cotton blankets. The women wear blankets, which they tie or knot over the left shoulder, leaving the right arm out. These serve to cover the body. They wear a neat, well-shaped outer garment of skin. They gather their hair over the two ears, making a frame which looks like an old-fashioned headdress."

"This country is in a valley between mountains in the form of isolated cliffs. They cultivate the corn, which does not grow very high, in patches. There are three or four large fat ears, having each eight hundred grains, on every stalk, growing upward from the ground, something not seen before in these parts. There are large numbers of bears in this province, and lions, wild-cats, deer and otter. There are very fine turquoises, although not so many as was reported. They collect the pine nuts each year, and store them up in advance. A man does not have more than one wife. There are estufas, or hot rooms, in the village, which are the courtyards or places where they gather for consultations. They do not have chiefs as in New Spain, but are ruled by a council of the oldest men. They have priests who preach to them, whom they call papas (elder brothers). These are the elders. They go up on the highest roof of the village and preach to the village from there, like public criers, in the morning while the sun is rising, the whole village being silent and sitting in the galleries to listen. They tell them how they

are to live, and I believe that they give certain commandments for them to keep, for there is no drunkenness among them nor sodomy nor sacrifice, neither do they eat human flesh or steal, but they are usually at work. The estufas belong to the whole village. It is a sacrilege for the women to go into the estufas to sleep. They make the cross as a sign of peace. They burn their dead, and throw the implements used in their work into the fire with the bodies."

As we shall see in the further progress of this work, they were great diplomats, intent upon preserving their independence as a tribe, bending their necks in submission to the religions when it was policy to do so, and renouncing the religion of the priests whenever a favorable opportunity presented itself. The records for eighty years after the expedition of Oñate, were destroyed by the revolution of the Pueblos, which occurred in 1680. During this time, the information which we have is only fragmentary, not only in reference to these Indians, but to those who inhabited the Gila, where the Franciscans were also endeavoring to bring the tribes under the control of the Church. As far as is known, there was never a permanent mission established among the Moquis, although priests were assigned to them from time to time, from whom they received religious instruction.

Bishop Salpointe, referring to the condition of the missions in New Mexico in 1626, says of the Moqui nation:

"This nation, as that of Zuni, from which it is separated by thirty leagues in the direction of the west, has a population of about 10,000 people

distributed in several villages. The inhabitants at first joyfully received the religious, and listened to their instructions. But here, as elsewhere, the sorcerers got alarmed on seeing the confidence placed in the missionaries by the Indians, and tried to destroy it by ridiculing it either publicly or privately in all their speeches. As a consequence of this, and perhaps at the instigation of the sorcerers themselves, a large number of Indians, either Christians or infidels, presented themselves to the priest who oftentimes spoke to them on the power of the cross, and showing him a young man born blind, made him this proposition: 'Padre, if your cross has as much power as you say, why do you not try to give by it his sight to this young man? If the trial proves successful, it will be for us the proof that what you say to us is the truth, and we will believe in your word.'

"The missionary thought it his duty to accept the challenge and relied on the grace of God for the result of what he was about to try for His greater glory. Having prayed a short time on his knees before the cross, he applied it to the eyes of the boy, who, at once, was by it made able to see. Struck by the miracle, the Indians kept their word, and applied to the religious for instruction, and for admission to baptism, those who had remained as yet in the state of infidelity."

It is to be regretted that the worthy Bishop does not give us the name of the priest who performed this miracle, and its exact date.

Bancroft, in the History of Arizona and New Mexico, says: "At the beginning of the century

(the 17th) the Moquis, like the other pueblos, accepted Christianity, were often visited by the friars from the first, and probably were under resident missionaries almost continuously for eight years; yet of all this period we know only that Fra Francisco Porras, who worked long in this field, converting some 800 souls at Aguatuvi, was killed by poison at his post in 1633; that Governor Penalosa is said to have visited the pueblos in 1661-4; and that in 1680, four Franciscans were serving the five towns, or three missions. These were Jose Figueroa at San Bernardino de Aguatuvi; Jose Trujillo at San Bartolome de Jougopavi, with the visita of Moxainavi, and Jose Espeleta, with Agustin de Santa Maria, at San Francisco de Oraibe and Gualpi, all of whom lost their lives in the great revolt. From that time the valiant Moquis maintained their independence of all Spanish or Christian control. It is not clear that they sent their warriors to take part in the wars of 1680-96 in New Mexico, but they probably did so, and certainly afforded protection to fugitives from the other pueblos, the Tehuas and others, even building a new town adjoining those of the Moquis, in which part of the tribe lived from that period. In 1692, they had, like the other nations, professed their willingness to submit to Governor Vargas; but in the following years, no attempt to compel their submission is recorded. In 1700, however, fearing an invasion, they affected penitence, permitted a friar to baptize a few children, and negotiated in vain with the Spaniards for a treaty that should permit each nation to retain its own religion."

At intervals of every few years from 1700, there were visitas of Franciscan friars and military detachments, the first to attempt the spiritual reconquest, and the latter to force subjugation by threats of war, but nothing was effected, these proud chieftains maintaining their independence of Spanish or Christian control, which is preserved to a great extent up to this time.

To Father Kino, subsequently known as the Great Apostle to the Pimas, belongs the credit of establishing the first missions in Arizona. He was a Jesuit priest, and before accepting priestly orders, had acquired some reputation as a mathematician. He declined a professional chair in the college of Ingolstadt in Bavaria, because, believing that he had been restored to health from a dangerous sickness through the intervention of St. Francis Xavier, at the Throne of Grace, he determined to devote his life to the conversion of the heathen in America, adding Francisco to his name, which became Eusebio Francisco Quino, afterwards changed by the Spanish to Kino. The date of his birth is unknown, but is stated to have been somewhere about 1640. He was a native of Trent, in the Austrian Tyrol, and a near relative of Martin Martini, S. J., a notable missionary in Asia. He died in the year 1711, having devoted twenty-six years of his life to missionary work in Sonora and Arizona.

His first mission, that of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, was founded on March 13th, 1687, near Ures, Sonora, Mexico, which mission thereafter, was the base from which his various expeditions into Sonora and elsewhere were started.

In 1690, Father Kino, who had established several other missions was visited by Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra, who had been sent by his superiors as visitador general. These two missionaries, says Francisco Velasco, were followed by Indians, asking to be instructed and admitted as members of the Catholic religion. Among them were the Sobahpuris, who lived on the San Pedro, and had come over a distance of 200 miles to ask the priests to follow them to the place called Guevavi, where they had their villages. Their petition was granted. The missionaries followed them and founded for their tribe a mission which was given the name of the place. This mission, now abandoned for a long time, was the first established on the soil of Arizona. It is in the same region that the missions of Tumacacuri and San Xavier del Bac were subsequently founded, along the course of the Santa Cruz River. According to the Rt. Rev. Thomas O'Gorman, the church of Guevavi and that of San Xavier del Bac would have been built by Father Kino in 1687.

In 1694, Kino visited the Pima Indians in the neighborhood of the Casas Grandes, where he established two missions, the Immaculate Conception and St. Andrew.

The above is taken from Salpointe (Soldiers of the Cross), but in an appendix to Garces Diary, by Elliott Coues, I find the following:

"In December of that year (1690), Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra, was appointed superior and visitador of Sinaloa and Sonora; he came to Dolores whence he went with Kino to the other places above named (San Jose de Himeris

and San Ignacio); whence the two congenial spirits pushed further into Pimeria Alta, laying great plans for spiritual conquests to be extended to California and elsewhere. Ortega, pp. 248-252, names places visited on this entrada of 1691 as follows: From Dolores by way of Santa Maria Magdalena pueblo and a land called El Tupo to the mission of San Pedro y San Pablo de Tubutama (on Rio Altar); place still so called, and probably in 1691 not yet a regular mission, though Kino may have operated there; thence to Saric (still so called on the same river), and Tucubabia in the same vicinity. Here they were met by a delegation of Sobaipuris, from the region about the modern (San Cayetano de) Tumacacori in southern Arizona, begging for padres; the fathers determined to go to (acercare) the Sobaipuris, and did so, says Ortega, p. 249, reaching in 15 leagues the rancheria called Guevavi where, in Ortega's time (al presente-1752) there was a mission; but it does not appear that Guevavi was the place where the Sobaipuris were met or a mission was then founded; and all those who so state must have misread their Ortega. However, the latter clearly states that the priests pushed on to San Cayetano Tumacacori (sic); and this place being close to Tubac, Kino now makes his first entrada into Arizona, at or near our recent Fort Mason, on the Santa Cruz river. The fathers then went to Santa Maria de Suamca, a place almost on our boundary, east of Los Nogales; and thence to Cocospera, easily found on a modern map. There they separated, Kino tarrying

awhile, and Salvatierra returning from his extended tour of inspection."

In 1692 Kino made his second entrada into Arizona, early in September, pushing on as far as San Xavier del Bac, and returning to Dolores on December 11, 1692.

In 1694 he was informed by some Indians from Bac of the Casas Grandes on the Gila, and went alone to examine them. This time he reached the Gila and said mass in the Casas Grandes, and he was, according to Dellenbaugh and other noted modern authorities, the first white man to view these ruins.

In November, 1697, was undertaken the first formal exploration into Arizona of which any detailed account survives. Of this expedition, Bancroft says: "Lieutenant Cristobal Martin Bernal, with Alferez Francisco Acuma, a sergeant, and twenty soldiers, marched from Fronteras via Terrenate and Suameca, while Kino and Mange with ten servants came from Dolores. The two parties united at Quiburi, not far from the site of the modern Tombstone; Coro, a Sobaipuri chief, with thirty warriors, joined the expedition, and all marched down the Rio Quiburi, since called the San Pedro, to its junction with the Gila, now so called in the records for the first time, though, as we have seen, the Gila province of New Mexico, was named as early as 1630. Down the main river went the explorers to and a little beyond the Casa Grande, which is, for the first time, described and pictured by simple drawings in the diaries. From the Gila they returned southward up the river, since called the Santa Cruz, by way of Bac and Gue-

vavi, reaching Dolores at the beginning of December. They had marched 260 leagues, had been warmly welcomed everywhere, had registered 4,700 natives, and baptized 89, besides conferring badges of office on many chieftains."

Space does not permit me to follow all the wanderings of this tireless explorer, who made altogether thirteen entradas into Arizona. Concerning the last expeditions of Father Kino into Arizona, and the Jesuit administration in Arizona, Engelhardt says: "In April and May, 1700, Fr. Kino was again at Bac and laid the foundation of a large church, which the natives were eager to build, but respecting the further progress of which nothing is known. In September Fr. Kino was in the Yuma country, and gave the name of San Dionisio to a Yuma rancheria at the junction of the Gila with the Colorado. In 1701 Fr. Kino and Fr. Salvatierra again appeared at Bac and Tumacacori. Some time after the venerable explorer passed from Sonoita to the Gila and the Colorado and visited the Yumas in their rancherias. Early in 1702, Fr. Kino made his last trip to the Gila and Colorado, and this was also, as far as known, the last time he crossed the Arizona line. 'There is no satisfactory evidence,' said Bancroft, 'that Arizona had either a regular mission or a resident Jesuit priest before Kino's death in 1711. A few rumors of padres stationed there can be traced to no definite source; and the whole tenor of such records as exist is against them.'

"After Fr. Kino's death, for more than twenty years, no Spaniard is known to have entered Arizona. It is not unlikely that a missionary

may have visited the rancherias of the Santa Cruz valley, but there is no proof of such trips into Arizona. All communication gradually ceased; the Gila tribes forgot what Fr. Kino had taught them, and even the nearer Pimas and Sobaipuris lost much of their zeal for mission life. Only two or three Jesuits are known to have worked in the field of the Pimeria Alta near the Arizona line before 1730.

“In 1731 there came a small re-enforcement of Jesuits; two of them were sent to the north and effected what may be regarded as the first Spanish settlement in southern Arizona. Fr. Felipe Segesser took charge of San Xavier del Bac, Fr. Juan Baptista Grasshoffer of San Miguel de Guevavi, which from this time may be regarded as regular missions, the other rancherias becoming visitas or missionary stations. It is probable that during the rest of the Jesuit period, the two missions were but rarely without priests. Fr. Grasshoffer died; Fr. Caspar Steiger was at Bac in 1773–1736; and in 1750 the missionaries were Fr. Jose Carucho at Guevavi, and Fr. Francisco Paver at San Xavier del Bac. In 1736–1737, Fr. Ignacio Keller of Suamea, in Sonora, made two trips to the Gila and visited the Casa Grande. He found that many of the rancherias of Kino’s time had been broken up.

“In 1743, Fr. Jacob Sedelmair of Tubutama reached the Gila and in the following year attempted to visit the Moquis in the north, but owing to the unwillingness of the Indians to guide him, he did not get beyond Bill Williams’ Fork.

"In 1750 occurred the second revolt of the Pima tribes, in which two missionaries at Caborca and Sonoita, were killed, as were about 100 Spaniards. Bac and Guevavi were plundered and abandoned, but the two Jesuits escaped to Suamca. Peace was restored in 1752 and the missions reoccupied in 1754.

"During the remaining years of the Jesuit period, 1754-1767, the missions of the Pimeria Alta barely maintained a precarious existence. 'A few neophytes were induced to remain faithful, but the natives lived for the most part as they pleased, not openly rebellious, nor disposed to molest the padres, so long as the latter attempted no control of their actions, and were willing to take their part in quarrels with settlers or soldiers. Missionary work was at a standstill.' Exactly how long the missions had been abandoned after the revolt of 1750 is not known, but in 1763 Fr. Alonzo Espinosa was in charge of Bac, as he was still at the time of the Jesuit expulsion in 1767. At Guevavi the missionaries were Fr. Ignacio Pfefferkorn in 1763, Fr. Jimeno in 1764, and Fr. Pedro Rafael Diaz in 1767. The rancheria of Tucson was a visita of Bac in these years, and a few Spanish settlers seem to have lived there; but in 1763 it was, like the mission, abandoned by all except a few sick and infirm Indians. There were also nearly 200 Spanish settlers at Guevavi, Santa Barbara, and Buenavista. The missionary stations at Tumacacori and Calabazas were composed of Pima and Papago neophytes; but the latter had run away in 1763. Respecting the expulsion of the devoted Jesuit Fathers by the Free Mason gov-

ernment of Spain in 1767 nothing is known, except the names of the three Fathers Espinosa, Dias and Barera, the latter at Suamea. The whole number of neophytes in 1764-1767, seems to have been about 1,250.

“From the Spanish names on early maps, the conclusion has been drawn that, up to the Gila Valley, Arizona was covered with prosperous Spanish missions and settlements which had to be abandoned later in consequence of Apache raids; but the truth is, there was no Spanish occupation beyond a narrow region of the Santa Cruz valley, and even there were only the two missions Bac and Guevavi, with a few rancherías de visita under resident missionaries from 1732, or possibly 1720, and protected in their precarious existence by the Tubac presidio from 1752. The Spanish names of saints were simply those applied by Kino and his associates to the rancherías visited on their exploring tours, whose inhabitants, in some instances, were induced to make preparations for the reception of the missionaries promised, but who never came. It has also been the fashion to regard Tucson as a more or less prosperous town from a very early time. Some writers even date its foundation in the sixteenth century, though, as a matter of fact, it is not heard of as an Indian ranchería till the middle of the eighteenth century, and was not properly a Spanish settlement till the presidio was moved there in later years.

“After the Masonic government of Spain in 1767 had expelled the devoted Jesuits, all the mission property, since it was regarded as belonging to the missionaries and not to the

Indians, was confiscated, and its care temporarily intrusted to royal comisionados. The result was that in 1793 the viceroy wrote: 'There is no reason to doubt that they either wasted or embezzled the rich temporalities of all or most of the missions, and that these funds were lost, and decadence or ruin could not be prevented.' "

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY SPANISH MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES
(CONTINUED) AND MILITARY ANNALS.

TUBAC—TUCSON—REVOLT OF PIMAS—EXPULSION OF JESUITS—RELAPSE OF INDIANS—MILITARY ANNALS—GENERAL CROIX—GENERAL UGARTE—SAN XAVIER DEL BAC—PADRE FRANCISCO GARCES—FRANCISCANS—SAN JOSE DE TUCSON—A WALLED TOWN—PADRE GARCES—BIOGRAPHY—FOUNDING OF PRESIDIO-PUEBLO MISSIONS ON COLORADO—DEATH OF INSPECTOR HUGO OCONOR—SAN AGUSTIN DEL PUEBLO DE TUCSON—TUBAC—CAPTAIN JUAN B. ANZA—APACHE DEPREDATIONS—GUEVAVI—PADRE JUAN CRISOSTOMO GIL DE BERNAVE—TUMACACORI—FRA NARCISO GUTIERREZ—JUAN B. ESTELRIO—RAMON LIBEROS—SAN CAYETANO DE CALABAZAS—ARIVACA—MINES—DON IGNACIO ZUNIGA—ABANDONMENT OF SETTLEMENTS.

No successive narrative of early Arizona annals is extant. The data we have, which has been collected by Bancroft and others, is incomplete, but enough is known to justify the assertion that the Gila Valley of Arizona was not covered with prosperous Spanish missions and settlements that were abandoned on account of Apache raids. Under the Jesuit rule, only two missions, those of Bac and Guevavi, were established. The rest were rancherias de visita, which received a precarious protection by Tubac

presidio, from 1752. Bancroft says: "The Arizona missions were never more than two, and they were never prosperous. So, also, the rich mines and prosperous haciendas, with which the country is pictured as having been dotted, are purely imaginary, resting only on vague traditions of the Planchas de Plata excitement, and on the well-known mineral wealth of later times. The Jesuits, of course—though the contrary is often alleged—worked no mines, nor is there any evidence that in Jesuit times there were any mining operations in Arizona beyond an occasional prospecting raid; and even later, down to the end of the century, such operations were on a small scale, confined to the vicinity of the presidios." This remark may also be applied to agricultural operations, which were often abandoned, and more often plundered by the savages.

Tucson has been regarded as a more or less prosperous town from a very early date; some writers dating its foundation in the sixteenth century, but as a matter of fact it was not heard of, even as an Indian rancheria, until the middle of the eighteenth century, and it was not a Spanish settlement until the presidio was moved there in later years.

The expulsion of the Jesuits was caused primarily by the revolt of the Pimas in 1750, and after this revolt was put down by the Spanish arms, there rose a quarrel between the Jesuits and the civil authorities, each charging the other with being the cause of this revolt, which resulted in the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, when all mission property belonging to the Jesuits, was confiscated by the Spanish Govern-

ment and its care entrusted to royal comisarios. "Respecting the definite acts of these officials in Pimeria Alta, there is," says Bancroft, "no information."

From another authority Bancroft quotes: "The missions were found by the Franciscans in a sad state. Some of the establishments had been plundered by the Apaches, and were again plundered, as at Suamea and Bac, during the first year of Franciscan occupation. In some cases, the comisarios had grossly neglected their duties. Everywhere the neophytes had been for a year free from all control, and had not been improved by their freedom. Not only had they relapsed to a great extent into their roving and improvident habits, but they had imbibed new ideas of independence, fostered largely by settlers and soldiers. They regarded themselves as entirely free from all control by the missionaries, whose whole duty in these later times was to attend to religious matters. The padres might not, so these independent aborigines thought, give orders, but must prefer requests to native officials; if they required work done for them, they must pay for it. The friars at first had nothing to do with the temporalities, but Galvez in 1770—it was really in June, 1769)—ordered the property returned to their control, and the slight remnants were thus restored. They received a stipend of \$300 each from the royal treasury, and spent it on their churches and neophytes. They worked faithfully, though often discouraged, and presently the state of affairs became, in all essential respects, similar to that in Chihuahua, the padres

keeping together the skeleton communities, instructing the children, caring for the sick, and by gifts and persuasion exercising slight and varying control over the masses of the Indians, who were Christians only in name."

The military annals during this period are also incomplete. The general situation of affairs is clear. In 1767-71, the island and coast tribes of Sonora gave as much trouble as did the Apaches, and while these tribes were being reduced to submission, campaigns on the northern frontier were suspended, and protection was only given to the presidios and missions. There are no particulars as to when aggressive campaigns were inaugurated. By a reglamento of 1772-3, service against the Apaches was made more effective. Through a change in the military discipline and Indian policy, at the same time, the sites of the four frontier presidios at Altar, Tubac, Terrenate and Fronteras were ordered changed. These changes, except at Altar, were made, including the transfer of Tubac to Tucson, the exact date of which is unknown. General Croix, from 1779, is credited with having effected useful reforms in the military service. The garrisons at each presidio, before the year 1780, were increased from fifty to seventy-five men, and, in 1784, a company of Opata allies was organized, which gave efficient aid to the Spanish soldiers. Records showing these facts also give information respecting the Apaches and their methods of warfare, and contain a general complaint of never ending depredations.

In 1786 General Ugarte, by the viceroy's order, introduced radical changes in the Indian policy. The Apaches were to be forced by unceasing campaigns against them, with the aid of the Pimas and Opatas, to make treaties of peace, which, up to that time, had never been permitted, and, so long as they observed such treaties, though closely watched, they were to be kindly treated, "furnished with supplies, encouraged to form settlements near the presidios, taught to drink intoxicating liquors, and to depend as much as possible on Spanish friendship for the gratification of their needs."

The plan seems to have worked remarkably well. For over twenty years or more there were but slight indications of Apache depredations. They were regarded as hostile and treacherous at heart, but found it to their interest to keep their treaties, for they were supported by the Government at a cost of from \$18,000 to \$30,000 a year. Independent and detached bands of Pimas and Papagoes, as well as the Apaches, sometimes made trouble, requiring constant vigilance and ready chastisement to keep them in order, but, as compared with conditions in earlier and later times, the country during the last decade of the 18th century and the first decade of the 19th century, was at peace. "Then it was," says Bancroft, "that the Arizona establishments had their nearest approximation to prosperity, that new churches were built, that mines were worked to some extent, and haciendas. Unfortunately, we may not know the particulars."

“San Xavier del Bac, known as a *rancheria* since the seventeenth century, and as a mission since 1720 or 1732, was, in June, 1768, committed to the care of Padre Francisco Garces, who was its minister for eight or ten years, but whose successors are not named in any record that I have seen. The neophytes were scattered and had forgotten their *doctrina*, so it is said, but they consented to return if not compelled to work. Before the end of the year, the mission was destroyed by Apaches, who killed the native governor and captured two soldiers, the padre and most of the neophytes being absent at the time. In several subsequent raids, the mission livestock disappeared, but after 1772 lost ground was more than regained, though Padre Garces * * * was for a large part of the time, engaged in northern explorations. The official report of 1772 shows a population of 270 on the registers, and describes the church as moderately capacious, but poorly supplied with furniture and vestments. All the churches of Pimeria Alta at this period are described as of adobes, covered with wood, grass and earth. Arricivita, writing in 1791, mentions on one page that the Franciscans have built here adobe houses for the natives and walls for defense against the Apaches; but though specifying somewhat minutely the various churches that had been built or repaired, he says nothing of such work at Bac. In a similar statement on another page, however, he includes Bac, as well as Tucson, among the places where churches of brick had been built. Yet I think the chronicler would not have dismissed with so slight a notice the magni-

ficent structure still standing at San Xavier, which has elicited many a description from modern visitors. The church is said to bear the date of 1797, which is presumably that of its completion. The building, or rebuilding, was probably begun soon after the date of the reports on which Arricivita based his work, and completed in the final decade of the century. * * * The establishment seems to have had no minister, and to have been practically abandoned from about 1828, though the Papago ex-neophytes are said to have cared for the building to some extent in later years."

This is the oldest mission in Arizona or California, and to-day stands as a monument to the industry and religious zeal and architectural skill of the early fathers.

"Tucson, as we have seen, is first mentioned in 1763 as a *rancheria visita* of Bac, which had been for the most part abandoned. In the last years of Jesuit control, however, it had 331 Indians, more or less, under control of the missionaries. Reyes, in his report of 1772, describes San Jose de Tucson, as a *visita* of Bac, without church or padre's house, on a fertile site where a large number of gentile and Christian Indians—not registered, but estimated at over 200 families—had congregated. Many of these seem to have been subsequently scattered; at least Anza found only eighty families of Pimas in 1774. Says Arricivita: 'The Apaches have always sought to destroy a small *rancheria* at Tucson, it being the point of entry for their irruptions; but by the efforts of Padre Garces, there was built a pueblo, with a church, house for the padre, and a wall

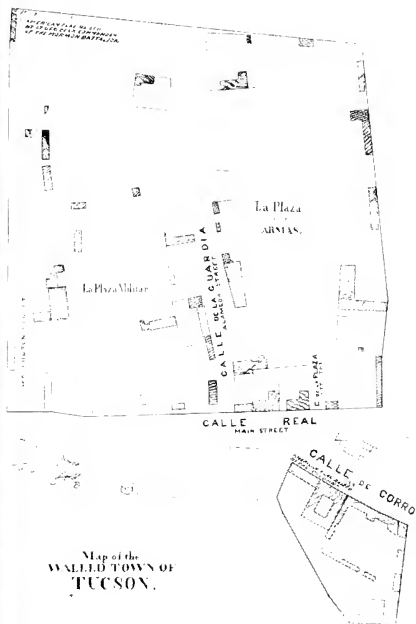
for defense, and it is to-day, a presidio of Spaniards.' "

From this it will be seen that Padre Garces made Tucson a walled town, it being the first and only walled city in the United States.

The accompanying map shows the wall as it existed in 1863.

Padre Fra Francisco Garces was born in the Villa de Morata del Conde, in the Reyno de Aragon, on the 12th of April, 1738. At twenty-five years of age, having finished his studies, he was ordained in the priesthood of the Franciscan Order, and at the age of thirty he was assigned to San Xavier del Bac. None of the early fathers showed greater zeal than he in extending the dominion of the church and of his king. From del Bac he made pilgrimages to the tribes along the Gila, extending to the Yumas on the Colorado River, and from thence into California and as far as San Francisco.

At the request of Palma, the chief of the Yumas, who had embraced Christianity and visited Mexico, on August 1st, 1779, leaving Padre Diaz with a small escort of soldiers at Sonoita, Padre Garces started with two soldiers and one other on his last entrada into what is now Arizona. He reached Yuma late in the month, and on September 3rd, sent the soldiers back to Diaz at Sonoita, with the information that he was already having trouble on account of the dissensions among the Yumas. The soldiers reached Diaz, and, at the same time, a Papago reported that some of his nation had revolted and proposed to attack the expedition en route. The soldiers were inclined to desert. This informa-



tion having reached the higher authorities, the padres were advised to postpone further operations. They remained firm under orders of the commanding general to persevere. Padre Diaz succeeded in joining Padre Garces at Yuma on October 2d, with about a dozen men. From the start there was trouble owing to the discrepancy between what Palma's people had been led to expect in the way of lavish gifts, and the beggarly outfit that the needy friars had to divide among them. During that winter Palma became disaffected, many Indians were in open revolt, and after much complaining on the part of the military and priesthood, it was determined to establish two foundations on the Colorado. Formal orders for each were issued March 20, 1780. Says Elliott Coues: "The scheme was a novel one—one so novel that Arricivita styles its author, Croix, 'an artificer of death,' (*artifice de morir*). The plan was for neither a presidio, a mission nor a pueblo, each of which was intelligible to a Spaniard, but a mongrel affair nobody could manage, combining features of all three such establishments; and there were to be two such mongrels. For the first of these were detailed a corporal, nine soldiers, ten colonists, and six laborers; for the second, a corporal, eight soldiers, ten colonists, and six laborers. Such were the two presidio-pueblo missions established on the Colorado; the one at Puerto de la Purisima Concepcion, identical in site with modern Fort Yuma, and the other perhaps eight miles lower down the river, at a place called San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuner, near the site of Modern Fort Defiance (Pilot Knob). The logic of

events showed the whole business to be criminal stupidity, ending in a bloody catastrophe."

There were, at this time, according to the account, twenty families or settlers or colonists, twelve laborers, twenty-one soldiers and four priests.

On Tuesday, July 17th, 1781, Garces was saying mass at Concepcion to a few people, mostly women, when the storm burst. Both padres survived the first outbreak. While the Indians were butchering right and left and looting the houses, both heard confession and administered the sacrament to some in the agony of death. The same day the Indians attacked Padres Diaz and Moreno at Bicuner as they were preparing to say mass, and they, and most of the soldiers, were killed on the first onslaught. Through the influence of Palma, Garces and Father Barranche were preserved from harm until the 19th when they were both beaten to death with clubs. The bodies of the four priests were afterwards recovered and laid to rest in one coffin in the church at Tubutama.

"As we have seen, the presidio was transferred from Tubac, in accordance with the reglamento and instructions of 1772. The change was made in or before 1777, and probably by order of Inspector Hugo Oconor, given during his visit of about 1775, so that the date of the founding of Tucson as a Spanish settlement may be set down as probably 1776. The Indians were quartered in a little pueblo adjoining the presidio, called from this time San Agustin del pueblito de Tucson, the presidio also being some-

times called San Agustin. Annals of this place are blank for many years, and practically so down to 1846, since we know only by occasional mention that the presidio maintained its existence; that the garrison numbered in officers and men about 106 men, though the ranks were often not full; and that there was frequent complaint of inadequate arms, ammunition and other supplies. We have no statistics, but the population of Tucson and the adjoining districts, in the last years of the period covered by this chapter, may have been about 2,000 including the families of the soldiers."

"Tubac is a name that first appears in 1752, when a presidio was established there. In 1764-7, and for some years later, it was under the command of Captain Juan B. Anza, and had a population of nearly 500. Under orders following the reglamento of 1772, the presidio was transferred in 1776-7, to a site farther north, at Tucson. This left the few settlers of the region more exposed to the depredations of the Apaches, and they wished to quit the country, but were prevented from doing so by orders from the government to be enforced by severe penalties. They sent in, however, many petitions for a restoration of the presidio, or for an increase of troops, and at a date not exactly recorded, but before 1784, a company of Pima allies was organized and stationed here. Subsequently Spanish soldiers seem to have been added to the garrison, and the law of 1826 provided for a presidial company at Tubac as well as Tucson, though in later years the company seems to have

been one of infantry. The poet has no other animals than an occasional mention of its existence and force. In 1826 a silver mine is spoken of as having been worked for several years. In 1834 all the Arizona establishments were organized as a partido with Tubac, or San Ignacio, as Cabecera. In 1842-3, a rancheria of friendly Apaches lived here. Spiritual interests were attended to by the padre of the adjoining mission."

Guevavi, in Jesuit times, called San Miguel and also for a time San Rafael, but by the Franciscans termed Santos Angeles, was a mission which, like Bac, dated back to 1732, or perhaps 1720, and in 1764-7, had 111 neophytes, or with its three visitas, 517. Padre Juan Cristobomo Gil de Bernave was its minister for several years from 1768. He became president of the missions and in 1773 was killed by the Indians of his new mission of Carrizal, Sonora. In 1772, Guevavi had 86 Indians, and with its visitas, 337. The church was a poor affair, and the establishment was often raided by Apaches. Before 1784, it was abandoned, and Tumacacori became head of the mission. The visita of San Ignacio Sonoita, or Sonoitac, seems also to have been deserted before 1784. The name of the latter is still retained, but that of Guevavi seems to have disappeared from modern maps.

"Tumacacori, or San Jose, a visita of Guevavi from Jesuit times, with 199 Indians in 1764-7, and 39 in 1772, was almost in ruins in the latter year, having been attacked in 1769 by the Apaches at midday. But before 1791, a new roof had been put on the church, and from 1784,

or earlier San Jose had become a mission instead of a visita. Adobe houses for the neophytes and a wall for their protection were also built. After Padre Gil de Bernave, I have no records of missionaries in charge of this mission, and the adjoining presidio in early times; but Fra Narciso Gutierrez was the minister in 1814-20, Juan B. Estelrio in 1821-2, and Ramon Liberos in 1822-4. The ruins of Tumacacori are still to be seen near Tubac, on the west bank of the river. San Cayetano de Calabazas, the only pueblo de visita that seems to have survived 1784, had 64 neophytes in 1772, but no church or house for the padre, though these were supplied before 1791. In 1828, Calabazas is mentioned as a rancho near which some poor people worked a gold mine. Aribac, or Arivaca, in the west, appears on a doubtful map of 1733, as a pueblo. Anza, in 1774, says it had been deserted since the Pima revolt in 1751, though mines were worked until 1767. In 1777, it is noted as a place rich in mines, and one Ortiz is said to have applied about this time for a grant of the rancho. Zuniga, in 1835, mentions it as a 'rancho despo-blado.' It may also be noted that in the early part of the present (the nineteenth) century, if not before, the old Terrenate presidio was located at or near the abandoned mission of Suameca, just south of the Arizona line, and was known as Santa Cruz."

Up to 1811, the military organization was, in every way, effective, but during that year money and food began to be supplied irregularly. "Credits, discounts and paper money began to

do their work of demoralization; official peculations became rife, and discipline and vigilance began to be relaxed." The Apaches, being hostile at heart, and having their regular rations cut off, went upon the warpath as the easiest way to make a living. The friars gradually lost interest in the presidios that protected the existence of their missions, and the settlers burdened and harassed by hostile Indians, gave no support to the soldiers and gradually abandoned their ranchos, which were allowed to lapse into the desert and all became desolation.

Don Ignacio Zuniga, several years commander of the northern presidios, in 1835, writing of affairs in Pimeria Alta, gives an excellent account of these disasters and their causes. He declares that since 1820, no less than 5,000 lives have been lost; that at least 100 ranchos, haciendas, mining camps, and other settlements had been destroyed; that from 3,000 to 4,000 settlers had been obliged to quit the northern frontier, and that in the extreme north absolutely nothing was left but the demoralized garrisons of worthless soldiers, though in the most recent years, for lack of anything worth plundering and on account of the hostility of the Pimas and Papagoes, Apache raids had been somewhat less frequent than before. He recommended that control of the temporalities be given over to the friars, that colonists of good character be sent to occupy the deserted northern ranchos; that some of the presidios be moved to better positions and that the Colorado and Gila establish-

ments should be founded as proposed in the last century.

In Arizona, all settlements except those at Tucson and Bac which were protected by soldiers, were abandoned, but at these two settlements a few soldiers still managed to live. Beyond these, no settlements remained in what is now Arizona. Hamilton says that they were finally abandoned by decree of the government in 1828. Bancroft says the order of expulsion against the Spaniards probably caused the departure of some of the friars in 1827-8 and that the management of the temporalities was taken away from them, and some of the establishments, including all in Arizona, were abandoned.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SANTA FE TRAIL—EARLY EXPLORATIONS
AND EXPLORERS.

LIEUTENANT ZEBULON M. PIKE—AGRICULTURE—
MINING — POPULATION — NAVAJOS—IRRIGA-
TION—ALBUQUERQUE—SANTA FE—MILITARY
GOVERNMENT — COLLY—JAMES PURSLEY —
—GOVERNOR ALLENCASTER—FIRST EXPEDI-
TION INTO SANTA FE—SUCCEEDING EXPEDI-
TIONS—DEVELOPMENT OF SANTA FE TRADE—
TROUBLES WITH INDIANS—ARRIVAL OF CAR-
AVAN AT SANTA FE—TARIFFS—STAGE ROUTE
ESTABLISHED — PIONEERS—JEDEDIAH SMITH
—THE PATTIES—BILL WILLIAMS—FELIX
AUBREY—PAULINE WEAVER—KIT CARSON—
ADVENTURES OF THE PATTIES—BLACK CAN-
YON OF THE COLORADO—WILLIAM WOLFSKILL
—FELIX AUBREY'S FAMOUS RIDE—BILL
WILLIAMS' MOUNTAIN — BILL WILLIAMS'
FORK — FREMONT — CARSON'S CONNECTION
WITH FREMONT—MEXICAN WAR—GENERAL
KEARNY—CAPTAIN GILLESPIE—LIEUTENANT
BEALE—BATTLE OF SAN PASCUAL—CARRY-
ING OF DISPATCHES BY CARSON AND FIGHTS
WITH INDIANS—DEATH OF KIT CARSON—
SANTA RITA COPPER MINES—MASSACRE OF
APACHES BY JOHNSON — RETALIATION BY
APACHES—BENJ. D. WILSON.

The opening of the Santa Fe Trail from Inde-
pendence, Missouri, to Santa Fe, has such a bear-
ing upon the subsequent explorations in Arizona,

that I think it proper to give a short description of what is known as the "Commerce of the Prairies," over this trail, and the causes which led up to it.

The first attempt to explore the western boundaries of the United States after the Louisiana Purchase, was made by Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike, of the Sixth U. S. Infantry, who, in 1806, was sent with 22 men to explore the country of the Arkansas and Red Rivers, and to establish a good understanding with the Indian tribes, particularly the Comanches. Of this trip, extending as far as Santa Fe, he published a full account in 1810. His book gave to Americans the first information in detail concerning that isolated region of which nothing had been heretofore known. He describes the territory inhabited by the Mexicans in New Mexico as being 400 miles in length, and 50 miles in breadth, along the Rio del Norte, and broken by a desert of more than 250 miles. The fertility of the country, as he regarded it, is of special interest to those who inhabit this section at the present day. "The cotton tree," he says, "is the only tree of this province, except some scrubby pines and cedars at the foot of the mountains. The former borders the banks of the Rio del Norte and its tributary streams. All the rest of the country presents to the eye, a barren wild of poor land, scarcely to be improved by culture, and appears to be only capable of producing sufficient subsistence for those animals which live on succulent plants and herbage."

In reference to mining, he says: "There are no mines known in the province, except one of copper, situated in a mountain on the west side of the Rio del Norte in latitude 34 degrees. It is worked and produces 20,000 mule-loads of copper annually. It also furnishes that article for the manufactories of nearly all of the internal province. It contains gold, but not quite enough to pay for its extraction, consequently it has not been pursued."

The population of New Mexico at that time, he estimated at 30,000 souls. Of its commerce, he says: "The province sends out about 30,000 sheep annually, tobacco, dressed deer and cabrie (goat) skins, some fur, buffalo robes, salt, and wrought copper vessels of a superior quality. * * * The journey with loaded mules from Santa Fe to Mexico and returning to Santa Fe takes five months."

"They manufacture rough leather, segars, a vast variety and quantity of potters' ware, cotton, some coarse woolen cloths, and blankets of a superior quality. All those manufactures are carried on by the civilized Indians, as the Spaniards think it more honorable to be agriculturists than mechanics. The Indians likewise far exceed their conquerors in their genius for an execution of all mechanical operations. New Mexico has the exclusive right of cultivating tobacco."

It is probably from these Indians that the Navajos learned the art of manufacturing the Navajo blanket.

Licut. Pike devoted considerable space to the irrigation process in the Rio Grande Valley, and

says: "They cultivate corn, wheat, rye, barley, rice, tobacco, vines and all the common culinary plants cultivated in the same latitude in the United States. They are, however, a century behind us in the art of cultivation; for, notwithstanding their numerous herds of cattle and horses, I have seen them frequently breaking up whole fields with the hoe. Their oxen draw by the horns after the French mode. Their carts are extremely awkward and clumsily made. During the whole of the time we were in New Mexico, I never saw a horse in a vehicle of any description, mules being made use of in carriages as well as for the purposes of labor." It can truly be said that in many parts of Mexico they have not improved on these methods of agriculture up to the present time.

Concerning the method of irrigation, he says: "Both above and below Albuquerque, the citizens were beginning to open the canals to let in the water of the river to fertilize the plains and fields which border its banks on both sides; where we saw men, women and children of all ages and sexes at the joyful labor which was to crown with rich abundance their future harvest and insure them plenty for the ensuing year. The cultivation of the fields was now commencing and everything appeared to give life and gaiety to the surrounding scenery."

About the irrigation at El Paso, he says: "About two miles above the town of the Paso del Norte, is a bridge over the river, where the road passes to the west side, at which place is a large canal, which takes out an ample supply of water for the purpose of cultivation, which is here car-

ried on in as great perfection as at any place that I visited in the province. There is a wall bordering the canal the whole way on both sides; to protect it from the animals, and when it arrives at the village, it is distributed in such a manner that each person has his fields watered in rotation. At this place were as finely cultivated fields of wheat and other small grain as I ever saw; also many vineyards, from which was produced the finest wine ever drunk in the country, which was celebrated throughout all the province and was the only wine used on the table of the commanding general."

He thus described Santa Fe: "Situated on the banks of a small creek, which runs west to the Rio del Norte. The length of the capital on the creek may be estimated at one mile; it is but three streets in width. Its appearance from a distance struck my mind with the same effect as a fleet of the flat-bottomed boats which are seen in the spring and fall seasons descending the Ohio river. There are two churches, the magnificence of whose steeples forms a striking contrast to the miserable appearance of the houses. On the north side of the town is the square of soldiers' houses. The public square is in the center of the town; on the north side of which is situated the palace (as they term it) or government house, with the quarters for guards, etc. The other side of the square is occupied by the clergy and public officers. In general the houses have a shed before the front, some of which have a flooring of brick; the consequence is that the streets are very narrow, say in general 25 feet.

The supposed population is 4,500 souls. * * * The houses are generally only one story high, flat roofs, and have a very mean appearance on the outside, but some of them are richly furnished, especially with plate."

"The second cities in the province are Albuquerque and Paso del Norte. The latter is the most southern city of the province, as Tous is the most northern. Between the village of Sibillette and the Paso there is a wilderness of nearly 200 miles."

The government, as described by Lieut. Pike, was: "military in the pure essence of the word, for, although they have their alcaldes, or inferior officers, their judgments are subject to a reversion by the military commandantes of districts. The whole male population are subject to military duty, without pay or emolument, and are obliged to find their own horses, arms and provisions. The only thing furnished by the government is ammunition. * * * There is but one troop of dragoons in all New Mexico of the regular force, which is stationed at Santa Fe, and is 100 strong. Of this troop, the governor is always the captain; but they are commanded by a first lieutenant, who is captain by brevet. The men capable of bearing arms in this province may be estimated at 5,000; of these probably 1,000 are completely armed, 1,000 badly, and the rest not at all."

Of the New Mexicans in general, Lieut. Pike says, "that owing to the fact of their being on the frontier and cut off from the more inhabited parts of the kingdom, together with their con-

tinual wars with some of the savage nations that surround them, they are the bravest and most hardy subjects in New Spain; being generally armed, they know the use of them. Their want of gold and silver renders them laborious, in order that the productions of their labor may be the means of establishing the equilibrium between them and the other provinces where those metals abound. Their isolation and remote situation also cause them to exhibit in a superior degree, the heaven-like qualities of hospitality and kindness."

Lieut. Pike found only two Americans from the States living in New Mexico. At Santa Fe, he found a man named Colly, who was an interpreter for the Governor, and had been a member of the ill-fated Nolan expedition into Texas. At Santa Fe, also, he discovered one James Pursley and accords him the honor of being "the first American who ever penetrated the immense wilds of Louisiana and showed the Spaniards of New Mexico that neither the savages who surround the deserts which divide them from the habitable world, nor the jealous tyrannies of their rulers, was sufficient to prevent the enterprising spirit of the Americans penetrating the arcanum of their rich establishment in the new world." Pursley was from near Bairdstown, Kentucky, which he left in 1799. In 1805, he, and his two companions, and two Indians were selected as emissaries of a large band of Indian hunters and traders to go to Santa Fe and inquire if the Spaniards would receive them friendly and enter into trade with them. "This

being acceded to by the governor (Allencaster) the Indian deputies returned for their bands; but Pursley thought it proper to remain with a civilized people. He arrived at Santa Fe in June, 1805, and had been following his trade, a carpenter, ever since, at which he made a great deal of money, except when working for the officers, who paid him little or nothing. He was a man of strong natural sense and dauntless intrepidity. He was once near being hanged for making a few pounds of gunpowder, which he innocently did, as he had been accustomed to do in Kentucky, but which is a capital crime in these provinces. He was forbidden to write, but was assured he should have a passport whenever he demanded it, but was obliged to give security that he would not leave the country without permission of the government."

Lieut. Pike and the publication of his book gave to Americans the first detailed description of the great wilderness lying to the west of them, and the advantages of establishing a trade with these distant provinces. From his description of the New Mexican country, the attention of traders, merchants and speculators was immediately attracted thereto. The first expedition into Santa Fe was organized in 1812 by McKnight, Beard, Chambers and eight or nine others, who fitted out a trading expedition and reached Santa Fe over practically the same route described by Pike. They reached their destination during the closing days of the revolutionary movement which had been put down by the Royalists. They were seized as spies, their goods

confiscated and they were sent as prisoners to Chihuahua, where they were confined for nine years. In 1821, two of the party returned to the United States, and the reports they made of the country prompted others to embark upon the same enterprise.

From this time may be dated the opening of what afterwards became known as the Santa Fe trail.

About the year 1821, Capt. Becknell, with four companies, started from Franklin, Missouri, fitted out with merchandise to trade with the Comanches. He met a party of Mexican rangers who persuaded him to take his wares to Santa Fe, where they were readily disposed of at an enormous profit. Becknell returned east in the following winter, leaving his companions in Santa Fe, but his accounts stimulated others to similar undertakings.

Col. Cooper, his sons, and a score of his neighbors, all Missourians, started in May, 1822, with five thousand dollars' worth of merchandise, which they transported on pack mules to Taos. Capt. Becknell accompanied by about thirty men, in the month of June following, set out upon his second westward trip. To avoid the circuitous route he had followed on the first trip, he left the Arkansas river at "the caches," striking directly for Santa Fe across the unknown desert. Unable to find water, they killed their dogs, and cut off the ears of their mules, quenching their thirst by drinking the hot blood of these animals. On the desert they separated in the hope that some of the party might find water.

Little suspecting that they were almost on the banks of the Cimarron, they determined to attempt to retrace their steps to the Arkansas "when they saw a buffalo, his stomach distended with water. The animal was immediately killed, and they quenched their thirst by drinking the filthy water they found in his stomach. Strengthened by this draught, some of the party managed to reach the river, where they filled all the canteens. By degrees the greater sufferers in the party were relieved of their distress, just when death seemed imminent, and the journey was resumed."

The Santa Fe trade may be said to date from 1822. Two years thereafter, merchandise was transported upon the backs of mules and horses. In the same year, 1824, a company of about eighty missionaries set out with a trainload of wares, including both pack mules and wagons, the latter being the first wheeled vehicles to cross the plains. Colonel Marmaduke, afterwards Governor of Missouri, was a member of this party, which carried about thirty thousand dollars' worth of merchandise to Santa Fe.

Troubles with the Indians began at an early date, and a demand was made for Government protection, which was met, and in the spring of 1829, Major Riley accompanied an expedition as far as Choteau's Island in the Arkansas. This escort, and one commanded by Captain Wharton in 1834, constituted the only military protection granted the Santa Fe trade until 1843, when Captain Cook commanded large escorts for two caravans as far as the Arkansas river.

The town of Independence, Missouri, was the center of this trade in 1831, from which point to New Mexico, there was not a human abode on the trail or near it. The "Commerce of the Prairies," by Gregg, thus describes the entrance of a caravan into the city of Santa Fe;

"The arrival produced a great deal of bustle and excitement among the natives: 'Los Americanos!' 'Los Carros!' 'La Entrada de la caravana!' were to be heard in every direction and crowds of women and boys flocked around to see the new comers; while crowds of leperos hung about as usual to see what they could pilfer. The wagoners were by no means free from excitement at this occasion. Informed of the ordeal they had to pass, they had spent the previous morning in 'rubbing up,' and now they were prepared with clean faces, sleek combed hair, and their choicest Sunday suit, to meet the fair eyes of glistening black that were sure to stare at them as they passed. There was yet another preparation to be made in order to 'show off' to advantage. Each wagoner must tie a brand-new 'cracker' to the lash of his whip; for, on driving through the streets and the plaza publica, every one strives to outvie his comrades in the dexterity with which he flourishes this favorite badge of his authority.

"Our wagons were soon discharged in the warerooms of the custom-house; and a few days' leisure being now at our disposal, we had time to take that recreation which a fatiguing journey of ten weeks had rendered so necessary. The wagoners, and many of the traders, particularly

the novices, flocked to the numerous fandangoes, which are regularly kept up after the arrival of a caravan. But the merchants generally were active and anxiously engaged in their affairs—striving who should first get his goods out of the custom-house and obtain a chance at the ‘hard chink’ of the numerous country dealers, who annually resort to the capital on these occasions.

“ * * * The derechos de arancel (tariff imposts) of Mexico are extremely oppressive, averaging about a hundred per cent upon the United States’ cost of an ordinary ‘Santa Fe assortment.’ Those on cotton textures are particularly so. According to the arancel of 1837 (and it was still heavier before), all plain-woven cottons, whether white or printed pay twelve and one-half cents duty per vara; besides the derecho de consumo (consumption duty) which brings it up to at least fifteen. * * *

“For a few years, Governor Armijo of Santa Fe established a tariff of *his own*, entirely arbitrary—extracting five hundred dollars for each wagon-load, whether large or small—of fine or coarse goods! Of course this was very advantageous to such traders as had large wagons and costly assortments, while it was no less onerous to those with smaller vehicles or coarse, heavy goods. As might have been anticipated, the traders soon took to conveying their merchandise only in the largest wagons, drawn by ten or twelve mules, and omitting the coarser and more weighty articles of trade. This caused the governor to return to the ad valorem system. * * *

“The arrival of a caravan at Santa Fe changes

the aspect of the place at once. Instead of the idleness and stagnation which its street exhibited before, one now sees everywhere the bustle, noise and activity of a lively market town. Taking the circuit of the stores, I found that they usually contained general assortments, much like those to be met with in the retail variety stores of the west. The stocks of the inexperienced merchants are apt to abound in unsalable goods—mulas, as the Mexicans figuratively term them."

In his "Commerce of the Prairies," from which the most of the above has been drawn, Dr. Gregg estimates the amount of merchandise invested in the Santa Fe trade from 1822 to 1843, inclusive, as follows:

1822.....\$ 15,000	1833.....\$180,000
1823..... 12,000	1834..... 150,000
1824..... 35,000	1835..... 140,000
1825..... 65,000	1836..... 130,000
1826..... 90,000	1837..... 150,000
1827..... 85,000	1838..... 90,000
1828..... 150,000	1839..... 250,000
1829..... 60,000	1840..... 50,000
1830..... 120,000	1841..... 150,000
1831..... 250,000	1842..... 160,000
1832..... 140,000	1843..... 450,000

In 1846 or 1847, passenger stages were placed in operation between Santa Fe and Independence, Missouri, each month. A stage would start from Santa Fe and Independence at the same time. Passenger traffic increased and trips were then made semi-monthly, then weekly, and, finally, three times a week. The stages were drawn

by six animals. As the demand for quicker trips increased, the animals were changed more frequently, about every twenty miles while crossing the mountain range. The trip, barring accidents, was made in about two weeks. The fare was \$250 for each passenger who was permitted to carry forty pounds of baggage free. For every extra pound, fifty cents was charged. Passengers were boarded en route. The fare was rough, being chiefly hardtack and pork, and such wild game as could be killed on the road. The stages ran day and night without interruption. The only sleep possible was what might be obtained while seated in the rolling vehicle. Later, stage stations were established at various points along the route at which rough accommodations were provided. During periods when the Indians were on the warpath, both the freight trains and passenger coaches were accompanied by escorts of military over the portion of the trail where the greatest menace existed. The Indians preferred to make their attacks during the daylight, and for this reason the stage drivers aimed to cover the most dangerous part of the road at night.

The opening of the Santa Fe trail made Santa Fe the mart for the exchange of all the products of New Mexico, Northern Chihuahua, Sonora and what is now Arizona, and also part of California, for immediately thereafter this section of the country was scoured by adventurous men, trappers, who explored every foot of the hitherto unknown country lying to the west. Trails were made on to Arizona and into Cali-

fornia by such men as Jedediah Smith, the Patties, Bill Williams, Felix Aubrey, Pauline Weaver, Kit Carson and others. The first and only published record we have is that of the Patties, who obtained permission from the New Mexican Governor to trap along the Gila River, and organized a small party for that purpose. Leaving Santa Fe on November 22nd, 1824, they passed down the Rio del Norte to Socorro, and then struck across the country to the Gila, visiting en route, the famous copper mines of Santa Rita. This trip extended through nearly five months, and these hunters, as far as is known, were the first Americans to visit the upper Gila Valley. Many of the natives never having seen a white man, fled at the approach of the party, but others more bold, viciously attacked them with their arrows. They returned to Santa Fe, where, securing supplies, the party set out to bring in their buried furs from the Gila, only to find that the Indians had rifled their cache, and all their hardships and suffering were without recompense. Returning to the mines, they repelled an attack thereon by the hostile Apaches, which ended in a treaty that insured the peaceful workings of the deposits.

Sylvester Pattie, the father of James, being acquainted with the American method of reducing these ores, succeeded in obtaining a lease upon the mines, which proved very profitable. The younger Pattie, finding life at Santa Rita too monotonous, and despite the remonstrances of his father, on January 26th, 1826, set out with a few companions for the Gila Valley, where he

had already suffered and lost so much. During the following eight months, the range of the trappers' journey was wide. Passing down the Gila to its junction with the Colorado, young Pattie ascended the banks of the latter stream, seeing in its now world-famed canyons only walls of highly colored rock which debarred them from the water's edge. They crossed the continental divide at South Pass, and emerged upon the plains, where once more they hunted the buffalo in the "cow country."

The adventurers then turned north and pursued an ill defined course, coming back upon the upper Arkansas, and crossing to Santa Fe, where Pattie was again deprived of the harvest of furs gathered with such wearisome labor, the Spanish governor claiming that the young man's former license did not extend to this expedition. Thereupon young Pattie joined his father at Santa Rita.

The winter and spring were spent in occasional hunting expeditions and visits to the Spanish settlements. In the spring, a new turn was given to the fortunes of the Patties by the embezzlement and flight of a Spanish subordinate, through whom they lost the savings of several years. They abandoned mining operations and the father and son sought to rehabilitate themselves by another trapping expedition, and set forth with a company of thirty, again in the direction of the Gila. Engagements with hostile Indians were of frequent occurrences. Early in November, 1828, many of their party having deserted, and all of their horses having been stolen

by the Yumas, the remainder built canoes and embarked upon the Colorado river. The only way of communicating with the Indians was through the sign language, and our adventurers understood the Indians to say that Spanish settlements existed at the mouth of the Colorado. In expectation of finding succor there, they continued down that waterway to its mouth, but found nothing but deserted shores and tidal waves, which alarmed and disturbed these freshwater voyagers. Finding it impossible to ascend the swift current, they buried their stores and furs, and struck across the rugged peninsula of Lower California, to the Spanish settlements on the Pacific Coast. The story of their sufferings in the salt lakes and deserts of this barren land is told in vigorous language by the younger Pattie. Arriving at a Dominican mission on the western slope of the mountains, the travellers were received with suspicion, placed under surveillance and forwarded to San Diego, then the residence of the governor of the Spanish settlements of California. Their residence in California under the Mexican regime makes a very interesting story. According to Pattie's account, he and his companions were treated with severity, being imprisoned at San Diego for lack of passports, and there detained for many months. The elder Pattie died in his cell without being permitted to see the son, for whose presence he piteously pleaded in his last hours. Young Pattie, in recognition of his services as an interpreter and that he might vaccinate the natives at the missions, among whom a smallpox epi-

demic was prevailing, was released. He gives a graphic picture of the pastoral life of the neophytes and rancheros at each mission and presidio along the coast where he traveled upon his northern journey. He arrived at San Francisco and pushed on to the Russian fort at Bodega Bay, returning to Monterey in time to participate in the Solis revolt of 1829. He declined Mexican citizenship and, upon the advice of his new found friends, he was induced to make a formal statement of his injuries and the losses which he had sustained by the refusal to permit the securing of his furs. Pattie embarked for Mexico in May, 1830, with the revolutionists who were being sent to the capital for trial. The companions of this long and adventurous journey he left settled among the Mexicans, most of them making California their permanent home.

In the city of Mexico, Pattie applied to the American diplomatic representative, also to the President of the Republic, but failed to obtain redress for his losses and injuries. He made his way to Vera Cruz, and there obtained passage to New Orleans where, through the kindly help of compatriots who loaned him money to pay for his boat passage, he ascended the Mississippi to Cincinnati and his early Kentucky home. Here the narrative closes. The only clue we have in reference to his after life is one given by Bancroft, who thinks he was again in San Diego after the American advent. (Bancroft, Hist. of California, iii, p. 171, note 44.)

Dellenbaugh says that the younger Pattie, in his trapping expedition of 1828, down the Gila

river to its junction with the Colorado, up the Colorado to the Grand Canyon, was the first white man who ever discovered the Black Canyon of the Colorado. Continuing, he says: "they made the first extended trip along the Grand Canyon and the other canyons of the Colorado, but whether they passed up by the north or the south, I am unable to determine. My impression is that they passed by the north, as they would otherwise have met with the Havasupai in their canyon, with the little Colorado, and with the Moki."

Captain Jedediah S. Smith, was the first white man to enter Arizona from the north. In August, 1826, he started from Salt Lake, passed south by Utah Lake, and keeping down the west side of the Wasatch and the High Plateaus, reached the Virgin River in Arizona, near the southwestern corner of Utah. This he called, in honor of the President of the United States, "Adams River." Following it southwest through the Pai Ute country, in twelve days he came to its junction with the Colorado. He entered the country of the Mohaves, who gave him a friendly reception, and he and his companions remained with them for some time, recuperating their stock. Leaving the Mohaves, he crossed the desert to the California coast, where he had troubles with the authorities, which, however, did not prevent him from returning again, after a visit to his northern rendezvous. While crossing the Colorado, the Mohaves who, it is said, had been instigated by the Spaniards to harass the Americans, attacked his

expedition, killing ten men and capturing everything. Smith escaped and was afterwards killed on the Cimarron by the Comanches.

In 1830, William Wolfskill and a party of trappers, opened a route to California, going north from Santa Fe, crossing the headwaters of the San Juan, then crossing Grand and Green Rivers, the latter in what is now known as Gunnison Valley, thence across the western base of the Wasatch Range, and south through Mountain Meadows and across the Beaver Dam Mountains. Thence they followed down the Virgin River almost to the Colorado, where they struck across the desert to Los Angeles. For many years afterwards, this route was used and known as the "Old Spanish Trail." Wolfskill afterwards settled in Los Angeles, and planted a vineyard, which became famous. Bell says: "he was a hero. A man of indomitable will, industry and self-denial; an American pioneer hero; one who succeeds in all he undertakes, and is always to be trusted. He died in 1866, leaving a very large fortune."

To follow the exploits of these trappers, who were the early explorers of the Great West, would require volumes. I have only room here to note those who afterwards identified themselves with Arizona history. The records of many are incomplete. Pauline Weaver, as will be afterwards shown in the progress of this history, identified himself with the prosperity of Arizona; Felix Aubrey gave his name to localities in the State, probably in the early 30's. Of him we know little beyond the fact that he be-

came identified with the Santa Fe trail first in 1824; that after the discovery of gold in California, he made several trips into that State through the northern route, and first gave to the world the knowledge that a railroad could be built over that country, as afterwards it was constructed, along the line of the present Santa Fe railroad. In 1846 he made a famous ride from Santa Fe to Independence, Missouri, an account of which is given by Major Henry Romeyn, U. S. A., as follows:

“Felix Aubrey was a Canadian by birth, of French extraction, and prior to the Mexican war had been in New Mexico as trapper and hunter with Beaubien, Maxwell and others, and was well acquainted with the plains, as well as along the mountains, from Winnepeg to Santa Fe; and even south of that place. When Tobin’s ride from Santa Fe to Fort Leavenworth, in August, 1846, had made him known all over the territory, Aubrey asserted that the time he had required could be reduced one-third, and when doubts were expressed, offered to back his opinion with his money. He soon found men who were willing to accept his wager, and arrangements were at once made for the attempt.

“No limits were fixed as to the number of mounts he might use—he was to get there, and at his own limit of time; he must do so in seven days and eight hours. Trains which had taken supplies for the army to the territory were returning eastward, and Aubrey, selecting half a dozen good horses, sent one by each train, to be led with it till he overtook it; the first one leav-

ing about two weeks before he started. For the first stage he rode a beautiful blooded mare, which he kept as a racer, and, owing to the fact that the empty train had travelled more rapidly than he had anticipated, he did not get his first relay till he had passed Wagon Mound, about a hundred and fifty miles from Santa Fe. He halted only long enough to change his saddle to his fresh mount and procure some food, which he ate as he rode, and he dared not halt for sleep on account of danger of too lengthy a delay, and of being discovered by Indians, and only found another mount, food, and a few hours for rest at the camp of the next train, at a ford of the Arkansas, since named for him, and near where the west line of Kansas now crosses that stream.

“There were plenty of Indians along the route, not only on the Arkansas, but in the valley of the Kaw, after he had crossed the divide, between it and the big bend of the Arkansas, and they wouldn't hesitate to lift the hair of any lone white man, if opportunity offered, especially if he rode a good horse. As he was to make the entire journey on horseback, he could sleep with safety only when he found a train in camp, and he made only three halts for that purpose, and in five days and fourteen hours from the time he left Santa Fe, he rode into Independence, Missouri, about two miles east of where Kansas City now stands, that place being the starting point at that time for civilian trains for Santa Fe. He had ridden about 830 miles, had used seven horses, and if he had taken no time for sleep and meals, would have ridden about six

miles an hour during the entire time. It was a wonderful test of endurance for both man and beast. There were wagers on the actual time, enough to give him something of a bonus above the main stake, of five thousand dollars."

Bill Williams was another of the trailmakers, and for him Bill Williams' Mountain and Bill Williams' Fork are named, and bear his name to this day. He was an old trapper, and knew every crook and turn of every river and every mountain range west of the Missouri River. He was the pilot for Fremont in 1848, when Fremont, against the advice of Williams, his guide, attempted to cross, with his pack animals, a range of mountains covered with snow, and lost a large portion of his command. The only account that I have been able to find of Bill Williams is contained in Ruxton's "Life in the Far West," which borders on the romantic, and is as follows:

"The leader of the party was Bill Williams, that old 'hard case' who had spent forty years and more in the mountains, until he had become as tough as the parfleche soles of his moccasins. * * * Williams always rode ahead, his body bent over his saddle horn, across which rested a long, heavy rifle, his keen gray eyes peering from under the sloughed brim of a flexible felt hat, black and shining with grease. His buckskin hunting shirt, bedaubed until it had the appearance of polished leather, hung in folds over his bony carcass; his nether extremities being clothed in pantaloons of the same material (with scattered fringes down the outside of the leg—

which ornaments, however, had been pretty well thinned to supply 'whangs' for mending mocasins or pack saddles), which, shrunk with wet, clung tightly to his long, spare, sinewy legs. His feet were thrust into a pair of Mexican stirrups made of wood, and as big as coal scuttles; and iron spurs of incredible proportions, with tinkling drops attached to the rowels, were fastened to his heels—a bead-worked strap, four inches broad, securing them over the instep. In the shoulder belt which sustained his powder-horn and bullet-pouch, were fastened the various instruments of one pursuing his mode of life. An awl, with deer-horn handle, and the point defended by a case of cherry-wood, carved by his own hand, hung at the back of the belt, side by side with a worm for cleaning the rifle; and under this was a squat and quaint-looking bullet-mould, the handles guarded by strips of buckskin to save his fingers from burning when running balls, having for its companion a little bottle made from the point of an antelope's horn scraped transparent, which contained the 'medicine' used in baiting the traps. The old coon's face was sharp and thin, a long nose and chin hob-nobbing with each other; and his head was always bent forward, giving him the appearance of being humpbacked. He *appeared* to look neither to the right nor left, but, in fact, his little twinkling eye was everywhere. He looked at no one he was addressing, always seeming to be thinking of something else than the subject of his discourse, speaking in a whining, thin, cracked voice, and in a tone that left the hearer

in doubt whether he was laughing or crying. On the present occasion, he had joined this band, and naturally assumed the leadership (for Bill ever refused to go in harness), in opposition to his usual practice, which was to hunt alone. His character was well known. Acquainted with every inch of the Far West, and with all the Indian tribes who inhabited it, he never failed to outwit his red enemies, and generally made his appearance at the rendezvous from his solitary expeditions, with galore of beaver, when numerous bands of trappers dropped in on foot, having been despoiled of their packs and animals by the very Indians through the midst of whom old Williams had contrived to pass unseen and unmolested. On occasions when he had been in company with others, and attacked by Indians, Bill invariably fought manfully, and with all the coolness that perfect indifference to death or danger could give, but always 'on his own hook.' His rifle cracked away merrily, and never spoke in vain, and in a charge—if ever it came to that—his keen-edged butcher knife tickled the fleece of many a Blackfoot. But, at the same time, if he saw that discretion was the better part of valor, and affairs wore so cloudy an aspect as to render retreat advisable, he would first express his opinion in curt terms, and decisively, and, charging up his rifle, would take himself off and 'cache' so effectually, that to search for him was utterly useless. Thus, when with a large party of trappers, when anything occurred which gave him a hint that trouble was coming, or more Indians were about than he con-

sidered good for his animals, Bill was wont to exclaim:

“‘Do’ee hyar now, boys, thar’s sign about! This hoss feels like caching,’ and, without more words, and stoically deaf to all remonstrances, he would forthwith proceed to pack his animals, talking the while to an old crop-eared, rawboned Nez Perce pony, his own particular saddle-horse, who in dogged temper and iron hardiness was worthy companion of his self-willed master.”

Another account is that he was a Methodist preacher in Missouri in his early life, after which he became a trapper and explorer. He was said to be rather misanthropic in his manner, and did most of his trapping and exploring alone. He was the indefatigable foe of the Indians.

The “Prescott Miner” of August 13th, 1870, says: “Bill Williams, for whom Bill Williams’ Fork and Bill Williams’ Mountain were called, was killed by Utes while trying to relieve the Fremont expedition which was searching for Cochetope Pass, which both Senator Benton and Colonel Fremont thought was the best pass for a railroad. Williams was 60 years old when killed. Dr. Kent was with Williams and both were shot by Utes while quietly smoking in camp, by a party of twelve bucks who entered the camp, professing friendship. The Mexicans in camp were unarmed. This statement is from Dr. H. R. Wirtz, Medical Director for Arizona, 1870.”

Kit Carson, the greatest of the trailmakers, was born in Madison County, Kentucky, on the 24th day of December, 1809. His parents set-

tled in Howard County, Missouri, when he was an infant. When about sixteen years old he was apprenticed to a harnessmaker, but, attracted by the wild stories of the great West, he ran away from home and, in 1826, joined an expedition to Santa Fe. At that time there had been little change in the western country from the time of the explorations of Lewis and Clark and of Zebulon M. Pike, except that the capital of Mexico had been transferred from Madrid to the City of Mexico. All that territory comprised in the States of California, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, a large portion of Wyoming and Colorado, belonged to Mexico. Oregon, Washington, Montana, and the major part of Wyoming and Idaho were claimed by Great Britain, and remained in dispute until 1846.

Carson, for the next five years, was on the plains continually. He made one expedition from Santa Fe to El Paso, and from thence to Chihuahua, and several trips across the continent into California and Oregon. He became familiar with other portions of this comparatively unknown country. He explored the headquarters of the Columbia River, the Missouri River, the Arkansas River, and almost every foot of what is now the States of New Mexico and Arizona. Although from 1832 to the time of his death he made his home in New Mexico, yet his name and fame and exploits are as much a part of Arizona and other of the great Western States as of New Mexico itself. He was the soul incarnate of that spirit of enterprise which carried the American flag across

the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, and thence across the great plains and mountains to the Pacific Ocean. The hero of a hundred fights, he never received but one wound; his life seemed to be protected by some unseen power. He touched the spirit that animated the West at every angle. He was the companion and associate of Ewing Young, Fitzgerald, the Sublettes, Jim Bridger, Bill Williams, and others who have left their mark upon the history of that period. He acquired a knowledge of Spanish, and of the French patois as spoken by the Canadian trappers, besides a knowledge of eight or nine Indian dialects. He was known alike to the Blackfeet, the Cheyennes, the Sioux, the Utes, the Apaches and all the warlike tribes who inhabited this vast region. He knew all their signals, and could follow their trails as nobody but themselves could. Up to 1834 he trapped through New Mexico, Arizona, California, Oregon, and along all the streams everywhere where beaver abounded. He married first an Indian woman, who died in giving birth to a child, and afterwards, in 1843, married in New Mexico, a Mexican woman of respectable family. He abandoned trapping about the year 1834, and for eight years thereafter was employed as a hunter, supplying Fort Bent with its forty men with game.

When returning from his first visit to Missouri, he met Fremont upon a boat on the way up the Mississippi with his first exploring party, and entered the Government service under Fremont as official guide of the expedition. Of this

incident Fremont says: "On the boat I met Kit Carson. He was returning from putting his little daughter in a convent school in St. Louis. I was pleased with him and his manner of address at this first meeting. He was a man of medium height, broad-shouldered and deep-chested, with a clear, steady blue eye and frank speech and manner—quiet and unassuming."

Carson, at this time, was less than thirty-three years old, and had already made a national reputation. Imagination would paint him as an athlete, six feet high, with long whiskers and long hair, loud-spoken and boastful, such being the usual physical development and characteristics of the trapper. Instead of this, he was a man of five feet six inches tall, under medium size, with little or no beard, a low-spoken voice as soft as a woman's, never boastful nor indulging in rough speech. One of his biographers, who knew him well, said that in all the years of his intercourse with Carson, he never knew him to tell an obscene story. Pure in mind as well as in morals, he had become a national character.

From this date until after the close of the Mexican war, Carson was closely identified with Fremont in all his explorations, and to him and not to the general belongs really the reputation of being the "Pathfinder," for it is of record that Fremont found no paths and no trails in the great Rocky Mountain region, except those which were shown him by Basil Lajeunesse and Carson.

Throughout his life Carson never engaged himself permanently to any one man, or with any single enterprise. While trapping he would break away from large parties and with two or three companions go upon independent expeditions. On July 14th, 1843, he joined Fremont's second expedition near the headwaters of the Arkansas River, and accompanied him throughout his second trip into Oregon and the Northern California country, returning by way of Sutter's Fort and the southern route to Santa Fe.

After a year's absence, he reached Bent's Fort in the summer of 1844, having journeyed four thousand miles, where he settled down upon a ranch in Northern New Mexico, about fifty miles east of Taos, but not for long, for his home life was again interrupted by thrilling adventures. In the autumn of 1845, at the earnest request of Fremont, Carson conducted the former's third and most famous expedition into Oregon and California. On this trip the party had several clashes with the Klamath Indians, in one of which Lajeunesse was killed. During this trip Fremont attempted to pass with his pack animals over a ridge covered by six feet of snow, and his expedition was only saved from disaster through the skill and energy of Carson.

In the meantime the Mexican War had broken out and Carson, pushing south with Fremont's command, shared with high distinction in the conquest of California, the details of which are told in the reports of Kearny, Stockton and Fremont.

In 1846, following the preliminary events incident to the California conquest, Carson was sent East as special Government messenger, bearing dispatches from Commodore Stockton to the Federal authorities in Washington. With a party of fifteen men, he started late in the summer, and proceeded to a point near Socorro, in New Mexico, where he met General Kearny in command of the Army of the West, on his way to California. Kearny assumed the responsibility for the delivery of Carson's dispatches, and ordered him to act as guide for his command to California. The command reached the Rancho Santa Maria, about sixty miles from San Diego, about December 5th, where they were joined by Captain Gillespie and Lieutenant Beale, with 35 men. On the following day, the combined forces fought the bloody battle of San Pascual, in which Carson bravely bore his part. Following this fight, and the ineffective skirmish at San Bernardo, Kearny's command was besieged by a superbly mounted force of Mexican cavalry. They were in a famished condition and immediate relief was demanded. A small party had been sent out by Kearny, but they were captured. The situation was desperate. On the night of December 8th, Kearny sent out Kit Carson, accompanied by Lieut. Beale and a friendly Indian. They traveled at night. Crawling through the enemy's lines, their sufferings were great. They were hungry and thirsty, their feet were lacerated by the cactus needles, but, under the lead of Carson, they reached San Diego, successfully, and secured the desired suc-

cor. Beale did not recover his health for more than a year, but in a few days Carson was as good as ever. Nothing seemed to affect the iron nerve and constitution of this little giant.

In March, 1847, he was sent again with dispatches to Washington. On this journey he fought his way through the Indians on and near the Gila, and pushed ahead, following the Santa Fe trail to the Missouri river. He reached Washington in June, having traveled about four thousand miles on horseback within the space of three months. Carson's continued services in winning the southwest had gained him wide recognition. President Polk appointed him second lieutenant in the United States Rifle Corps, which appointment, however, was never confirmed by the Senate. One can easily imagine the excitement which the advent of Carson created in Washington. The statesmen of that day, Webster, Clay, Benton and their colleagues, were surprised to find in him, a man who had written his name indelibly upon the history of the West, a modest, retiring, diffident person, undersized, who took his whole life, which had been one of loyalty to friends and to country, as merely a part of the duty which he owed to himself. He was ordered back to California again with dispatches. At the Point of Rocks on the Santa Fe trail, a noted landmark about 650 miles beyond Independence, he had a desperate fight with the Comanche Indians. He found there encamped a band of volunteers, en route for the Mexican war. The Indians made an early morning raid and drove off the soldiers' livestock.

The men, headed by Carson, made a counter attack upon the Indians, killed a number of them and managed to recover the cattle, but the surviving red men escaped with the horses. With a party of fifteen men, Carson was again attacked by three hundred Indians in the vicinity of Virgin River, Arizona, and successfully stood his ground. He reached Monterey without serious mishap, and for a time was employed against the border Mexicans in California.

In the spring of 1848 he was again sent with dispatches from California to Washington. While on his way eastward he managed to spend a day with his family at Taos. His homecomings up to this time had been about three years apart. He made a safe trip to Washington and honorably discharged his duties. Returning to New Mexico, he decided to settle down once more in the ranch business with Lucien B. Maxwell as partner, but the quiet of domestic life was frequently interrupted. Several times he was called into the field to surprise and punish the Apaches and other wild tribes.

In 1851 Carson went to St. Louis, purchased a large stock of merchandise and started West. Upon reaching a village of Cheyennes upon the upper Arkansas river, he learned that the Indians were swearing vengeance against all whites because an army officer had rashly whipped one of their chiefs. It so happened that Carson was the first white man to approach since the offense had been given. Years before, when a hunter at Bent's Fort he had become familiar with all the tribes and was esteemed by them as a friend.

Now he was almost a total stranger to them. His local reputation had faded during his long absence. While the Indians were holding their council, boldly he came among them. They, thinking he could not understand their language, talked without restraint in his presence. After he had heard them declare their intention to capture his wagon train and kill him, he quietly arose and made them a speech in their own language. He informed them who he was, and recalled to their minds many instances of kindnesses he had extended to them. He expressed his desire to render them any further service he could, but said in conclusion that if they proposed to take his scalp, he might have a hand in the affair. When he had finished speaking, the Indians quietly left the council, while Carson rejoined his men.

His next unusual exploit was to select a few trusty companions and drive a flock of 6,500 sheep overland from New Mexico to Southern California, about 800 miles. This proved to be a highly profitable speculation. Carson realized about \$5.50 a head for his entire herd.

The narrative of the adventures of this extraordinary man would fill a large volume. I can only attempt to give a few notable incidents in his life, which stand out prominently as being of great importance to Arizona and the Southwest in general.

In 1854 he was appointed by President Pierce Indian Agent for New Mexico, and thus he became the adviser and guide of those tribes whose determined foe he had previously been.

In this position he revealed genuine statesmanship, and his ideas of the treatment of Indians are now a part of the policy of the General Government. He was the first to advocate the rounding up of the Indians and teaching them to subsist upon the soil. As General Crook afterwards expressed it: "To raise corn instead of scalps." He became the firm friend of the Apaches, the Cheyennes, the Kiowas, the Utes and the Arapahoes, although at times he was forced to punish them because of their raids upon civilization.

From 1849 to 1865 the Government spent thirty millions in an effort to subdue the various wild tribes of Arizona and New Mexico, and Carson was prominently identified with this entire enterprise.

Not only as an Indian fighter and scout did he help win the Southwest, but in the war between the States he helped to retain that region to the Union. At the battle of Val Verde in 1862, as commander of the First Regiment of New Mexican Volunteers, he gave efficient service to the Union arms. As we shall see later on, in the summer of 1863 he conquered the Navajos, who, since that time, have been at peace with the whites. At the close of the war he was brevetted brigadier-general. His last service was in 1865, when, in command of three companies of soldiers, he attacked and destroyed a large Kiowa village near the Cimarron. His word was always kept; he was the soul of honor and the Indians, knowing this, respected Kit Carson. They admired him for his fair dealings and

called him "father," but it may be asserted here that their respect for him was inspired by the fear of his unerring aim and fighting blood.

About the year 1868, while in the mountains one day, he was thrown from a horse and received internal injuries, from which he never recovered. Otherwise in perfect health, says one of his biographers, he is said to have remarked: "Were it not for this injury, I would live to be a hundred years of age." He did his work well, and with the full assurance that his life had been one of service to humanity and of loyalty to the Government which he loved; death had no terrors for him. Surrounded by friends who loved him, he faced with serenity the approach of old age, conscious of having performed life's duties well. His end came on May 23d, 1868. While visiting a son at Fort Lyons, Colorado, General Carson attempted to mount a horse, resulting in the rupture of an artery in his neck. Surgical attendance was useless. His life quietly slipped away. A brief struggle, three gasping words: "Doctor, compadre, adios," ended his life. Thus ended the last of the great pathfinders of the West. His name is given to three cities, one lake, one river, and numerous peaks and canyons. His fame is perpetuated by a monument in the city of Denver, and also by a bronze tablet to himself and Lieutenant Beale in the Smithsonian Institution at Washington.

The Santa Rita Copper Mines (Santa Rita del Cobre), which for many years was the rallying point for the trappers and hunters of New

Mexico and Arizona, are situated in the mountain range not far from the Mimbres River. They were profitably worked from 1804 up to 1838. Sylvester Pattie at one time had a lease of the property, and Christopher Carson had worked for several months in these mines. In 1838 the Mimbres Apaches were giving great trouble to the settlers in Chihuahua and Sonora, and the condition of affairs is described by Dunn in his "Massacres of the Mountains," as follows:

"Chihuahua promulgated a law called the *Proyecto de Guerra*, or project for war, by which the State offered one hundred dollars for the scalp of an Apache warrior, fifty for the scalp of a squaw, and twenty-five for that of a child. Sonora was also paying a bounty for scalps, and both gave to the captor any booty he might take from the Indians. This liberality was produced mainly by the many atrocities of Juan Jose, a Mimbres chief, who had been educated among the Mexicans, and used his knowledge of their customs to great advantage in his warfare. One favorite scheme of his was robbing the mails, for the purpose of obtaining information as to the plans of the Mexicans. At this time there were several parties of trappers on the headwaters of the Gila, and the captain of one of these, a man named Johnson, undertook to secure a number of Apache scalps. It is said that in addition to the scalp bounty, he was induced to this by pay from the owners of the Santa Fe copper mines. At any rate he made a feast and invited to it a number of Mimbreno warriors, who accepted his hospitable bidding. To one side of

the ground where his feast was spread, he placed a howitzer, loaded to the muzzle with slugs, nails and bullets, and concealed under sacks of flour and other goods. In good range he placed a sack of flour, which he told the Indians to divide among themselves. Unsuspicious of wrong, they gathered about it. Johnson touched his lighted cigarette to the vent of the howitzer, and the charge was poured into the crowd, killing and wounding many. The party of trappers at once followed up the attack with their rifles and knives. A goodly number of scalps were secured, that of Juan Jose among others, but the treachery was terribly repaid. Another party of fifteen trappers was camped on a stream a few miles distant. The surviving Mimbrenos went to these unsuspecting men, and murdered every one of them. Their vengeance did not stop at this. The copper mines of Santa Rita were furnished with supplies from the city of Chihuahua by guarded wagon trains (conductas) that brought in provisions and hauled back ore. The time for the arrival of the train came and passed, but no train appeared. Days slipped away, provisions were almost exhausted. The supply of ammunition was nearly gone. Some of the miners climbed to the top of Ben Moore, which rises back of the mines, but from its lofty summit no sign of an approaching conducta was visible. Starvation was imminent. The only hope of escape for the miners and their families was in making their way across the desert expanse that lies between the mines and the settlements. They started, but the Apaches, who had destroyed the

train, hung about them, and attacked them so persistently that only four or five succeeded in reaching their destination."

In addition to the trappers killed by the Apaches as above stated, another band was attacked by them, and several men were killed. Among the survivors of this band was Benj. D. Wilson, who afterwards became prominently identified with the early history of California. Up to the time of Johnson's treachery, the Indians of that part of the country had been the white man's friend, but from this time on they killed Mexicans and white men alike.

This closes the history of Arizona under the Spanish and Mexican rule.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA BY FREMONT AND SLOAT.

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS—TREATY WITH ENGLAND—CABRILLO—DISCOVERY OF CALIFORNIA—ESTABLISHMENT OF FORTS—SAN DIEGO—SANTA BARBARA—MONTEREY—SAN FRANCISCO—ESTABLISHMENT OF MISSIONS—CONVERSION OF NATIVES—CATTLE AND HORSES—TRADE IN HIDES AND TALLOW—OVERTHROW OF SPANISH POWER—IMMIGRATION OF WHITES—FREEMONT DRIVES MEXICANS SOUTH—"BEAR FLAG"—COMMODORE SLOAT RECEIVES INSTRUCTIONS FROM SECRETARY OF NAVY—DISPATCHES SURGEON WOOD TO MEXICO CITY TO OBTAIN INFORMATION—SLOAT ARRIVES AT MONTEREY—TAKES POSSESSION OF TOWN FOR UNITED STATES—INSTRUCTS CAPTAIN MONTGOMERY TO TAKE POSSESSION OF SAN FRANCISCO—DISAPPOINTMENT OF BRITISH ADMIRAL, SEYMOUR.

In the campaign of 1844, which resulted in the election of James K. Polk to the presidency over Henry Clay, the democrats had declared for two things, first, the annexation of Texas, and, second, the extending of their claims upon the Pacific to 59° 40'. The last official act of President Tyler was the signing of a joint resolution of both Houses of Congress for the annexation of Texas, and one of the first acts of President

Polk was to officially notify the people of Texas of such annexation.

A treaty with England was made which defined the boundaries on the Pacific between the two countries as they are at present, leaving all south of the present State of Oregon Mexican territory, which England had claimed by right of discovery through Sir Francis Drake, who, they claimed, had first discovered California when he landed at Point Reyes near San Francisco and hoisted the British flag on the territory. The Mexicans, it is said, were willing to cede this territory to England in cancellation of a debt of fifty millions which they owed to the British Government. This treaty with England, upon the advice of the Senate, was ratified by the President July 19th, 1846, ratifications were exchanged July 27th, 1846, and it was proclaimed August 5th, 1846.

Upon the annexation of Texas, which everyone knew must result in war with Mexico, California became a prize which both the United States and England were anxious to secure. Both nationalities were largely represented in the immigration into California.

Cabrillo, a Spanish navigator, in 1748 discovered Upper California. It was colonized by the Spaniards in 1768. Garrisoned forts were established, first at San Diego, and then at Santa Barbara, Monterey and San Francisco. Missions of Franciscans accompanied or immediately followed them. The first mission was established at San Diego, and from time to time, twenty more were established. They included

handsome churches, some of them of stone, ample quarters, workshops, storehouses, granaries and courts. They gradually extended their claims to territory, and so came to include the whole country. The natives were not only converted to Christianity, but were instructed in agriculture and the mechanical arts. They became the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the priests. Their rancherías, or villages, were near the missions and they lived in thatched, conical huts. Small military detachments were located at each ranchería to preserve order. In 1822 the number of converts was estimated at twenty-two thousand, besides colonists settled near by.

There was some immigration from Mexico, the soldiers usually bringing their wives, but the immigration was discouraged by the priesthood, who made it very difficult to obtain ownership to the land. The territorial government was irregular and weak, the head of it being the comandante general. There were no schools, and but little wheat and beans were raised by the families, whose diet was chiefly fresh meat. Milk was seldom used, and butter was a thing unknown. They lived on horseback, an indolent but active life, and were fine horsemen. Horse-racing, gambling and dancing were their chief occupations. Cattle and horses were introduced, the latter said to be of the Arabian breed, and their flocks and herds increased wonderfully upon the rich grasses in California's most favorable climate, while horses soon overran the land, and, in 1826, it was common for men to join to-

gether to drive them into great pens prepared for the purpose, and, when thus confined, after securing some of the finest animals, to slaughter the rest. Trade in hides and tallow was established in 1816; an annual ship came from Boston, and, says one authority, "in 1822 near forty thousand hides and about the same number of arrobas (twenty-five pounds) of tallow were exported. Hides became known as California bank notes, of the value of two dollars."

The Mexican revolution of 1822 overthrew the Spanish power in California. The missions began to decline in wealth and power in 1824, at which time a decree of expulsion against all native Spaniards and their priests was enforced, and by 1836 the Mission fathers were stripped of their possessions. This wrong, however, had its compensating effects for the people at large. The lands were divided and came into individual ownership. Industry and enterprise were encouraged and the mass of the population was no longer dependent upon the bounty and will of the priests.

In 1846 the white population of California was estimated at not higher than ten thousand, including about two thousand foreigners, chiefly from the United States; these last beginning to arrive so rapidly that their superior intelligence and energy aroused the jealousy of prominent natives. General Castro assumed command of the military and soon afterwards issued a proclamation requiring all Americans to leave the country, but no immediate measures were taken

to enforce the order, and it was disregarded by the immigrants.

Lieutenant Archibald Gillespie arrived at Mazatlan in February, 1846, with dispatches for Consul Larkin at Monterey, and also for Fremont, and was sent forward by Commodore Sloat in the sloop of war *Cyane*, which arrived at Monterey, April 17th, 1846, where he delivered his dispatches to Consul Larkin, who provided means for him to reach Fremont, who, at that time, was at Klamath Lake in Southern Oregon, the dispatches to Fremont being oral and secret. The nature of these dispatches is not disclosed, but Fremont, with his command of sixty men, immediately returned to California, where the Americans, in the meantime, had organized under what was known as the "Bear Flag." The Mexicans were commanded by General Castro. The Americans joined Fremont's command and the Mexicans were driven south.

The following facts, which are taken from official documents and authentic records, are from the life of Commodore John Drake Sloat, written by Major Edwin A. Sherman, and I consider them reliable in all respects:

In 1844 Commodore Sloat was appointed commander of the American squadron in the Pacific waters, succeeding Commodore Jones. On June 25th, 1845, dispatches were sent by the Hon. George Bancroft, Secretary of the Navy, to Commodore Sloat, which were delivered to him by Lieutenant Watson of the United States Navy on October 25th, at Honolulu. After stating that it was the earnest desire of the President to

pursue the policy of peace, and that he was anxious that every part of the commodore's squadron should be assiduously careful to avoid any act which could be construed as one of aggression, Secretary Bancroft gave the following instruction to the Commodore:

"Should Mexico, however, be resolutely bent on hostilities, you will be mindful to protect the persons and interests of citizens of the United States near your station, and should you ascertain beyond a doubt that the Mexican Government has declared war against us, you will at once employ the force under your command to the best advantage. The Mexican ports on the Pacific are said to be open and defenseless. If you ascertain with certainty that Mexico has declared war against the United States, you will at once possess yourself of the port of San Francisco, and blockade or occupy such other ports as your force may permit."

Commodore Sloat remained ten days in Honolulu, taking on supplies and water, and making such necessary repairs as were required. In the meantime the British ship *Frolic* came in and anchored in the inner harbor. On October 12th, 1845, the United States frigate, *Savannah*, Commodore Sloat's flagship got under way, and Commodore Sloat sailed for Mazatlan, Mexico, where, after thirty-seven days, he arrived on November 18, 1845, and saluted the Mexican flag, which salute was duly returned. Here he waited for many months in a sickly harbor with his flagship, the *Savannah*, while the other vessels of his squadron were watching the movements of the

British fleet under Admiral Seymour with his flagship, the *Collingwood*, of eighty guns, which was constantly sailing between Mazatlan, San Blas and California.

Sloat became very anxious to learn what was being done by the administration, and dispatched Surgeon William Maxwell Wood from Mazatlan across to the city of Mexico, and from thence to Vera Cruz, with instructions to forward him all the information that he could gather, and also to visit Washington and give the Secretary of the Navy an oral account of what was transpiring in Pacific waters. Surgeon Wood dispatched a letter from the city of Mexico to the Commodore, giving an account of the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, and giving also the information that the port of Vera Cruz had been blockaded by the American squadron. He gave no information of war having been declared between the two countries, but stated that hostilities had actually commenced. The declaration of war was not made by the United States until four days after these battles were fought. Upon the receipt of the information from Surgeon Wood, on the 7th of June, 1846, Commodore Sloat prepared for action, and on the next day, sailed for Monterey. Before his sailing, the British tender, the brigantine *Spy*, which was in the harbor of Mazatlan at that time, noticing what was transpiring on the Savannah, hoisted its anchor and sailed for San Blas to convey the information to the British Admiral, Seymour.

Commodore Sloat arrived at the harbor of Monterey on July 2nd, 1846, just twenty-four

days from Mazatlan, his flagship being one of the fastest vessels known at that time. At Monterey he found the sloops *Cyane* and *Levant* belonging to his squadron, which had previously been dispatched there. Having made all necessary preparations he took possession of the town of Monterey on the 7th. On the 6th he sent, by a trusty courier, the following dispatch to Captain John B. Montgomery, commanding the sloop of war *Portsmouth*, at San Francisco, also sending a copy of it by boat at the same time:

“I have determined to hoist the flag of the United States at this place tomorrow, as I would prefer being sacrificed for doing too much than too little. If you consider you have sufficient force, or if Fremont will join you, you will hoist the flag at Yerba Buena, or at any other proper place, and take possession of the fort and that portion of the country.”

Acting upon this order Captain Montgomery took possession of the port of San Francisco.

Sixteen days after Commodore Sloat arrived at Monterey, Admiral Seymour, in his flagship, the *Collingwood*, sailed into the harbor, and, much to his disappointment, found the American flag hoisted above the fort.

It seems the irony of fate that, Sir Francis Drake having hoisted the first British flag over California, it should have been taken from the British Government by one of his descendants, the American Commodore, John Drake Sloat.

CHAPTER IX.

WAR WITH MEXICO.

GENERAL ZACHARY TAYLOR—GENERAL AMPUDIA'S DECLARATION OF HOSTILITY—ATTACK OF AMERICAN DRAGOONS—DECLARATION OF WAR BY UNITED STATES—ARMY OF THE WEST—GENERAL STEPHEN W. KEARNY—COLONEL ALEX W. DONIPHAN—MORMON BATTALION—CAPT. P. ST. GEORGE COOKE—GOVERNOR ARMIJO—AMBASSADOR JAMES MAGOFFIN—GENERAL KEARNY'S INSTRUCTIONS—CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF NEW MEXICO—KEARNY CODE—DONIPHAN'S EXPEDITION—KEARNY'S EXPEDITION TO CALIFORNIA—KIT CARSON'S DEVOTION TO DUTY—PIMA INDIANS—CAPTAIN COOKE'S MARCH WITH WAGON TRAIN AND MORMON BATTALION—WILD CATTLE—GAME—ARRIVAL AT TUCSON—LETTER TO DON MANUEL GANDARA, GOVERNOR OF SONORA—MARICOPAS—CROSSING THE COLORADO—COLONEL PRICE—REVOLT IN MEXICO—KILLING OF GOVERNOR BENT AND OTHER OFFICIALS—PUNISHMENT OF REVOLUTIONISTS.

On the 28th of March, 1846, General Zachary Taylor took up his position on the banks of the Rio Grande opposite Matamoras, and strengthened himself by the erection of fieldworks. Texas, at that time, claimed the Rio Grande as the western boundary of the republic, which not only embraced what is now known as Texas,

but a large portion of what is now New Mexico. The Mexicans claimed that the River Nueces was the western boundary of the Lone Star republic. The territory between that river and the Rio Grande—a breadth of one hundred and fifty miles along the coast—they claimed was a part of their territory. It is well to remember that Mexico had no army of occupation in this disputed territory.

General Taylor was notified by General Ampudia of the Mexican Army to break up his camp and in twenty-four hours to retire beyond the Nueces River. To this, General Taylor made no reply, and General Arista, who had succeeded General Ampudia in command of the Mexican army, on the 24th of April, advised General Taylor that “he considered hostilities commenced, and should prosecute them.” After this notification was received, General Taylor sent a party of dragoons, sixty-three in number, up the valley of the Rio Grande to ascertain whether the Mexicans had crossed the river. They encountered a larger force than their own, and after an engagement in which seventeen of the Americans were killed or wounded, they were surrounded and compelled to surrender. Intelligence of this affair raised the war spirit of the United States. Our country had been invaded; American blood had been spilled on American soil, was the cry heard on every side. In response to public opinion, President Polk, on the 11th of May, sent a message to Congress, “invoking its prompt action to recognize the existence of war, and to place at the disposition of the Executive the

means of prosecuting the contest with vigor, and thus hastening the restoration of peace." Following this message, the House of Representatives introduced a bill authorizing the President to call out a force of fifty thousand men, and giving him all the requisite powers to organize, arm and equip them. This bill was passed through the Senate and the House, and approved by the President on the 13th day of May, 1846.

The story of the successful campaigns of General Taylor into the heart of Mexico, and the capture of Mexico City by General Scott, does not belong to this history. We deal only with that portion of it which ended in the subjugation of New Mexico, Arizona and California.

War, or its existence, having been declared, the Army of the West was organized at Fort Leavenworth, in June, under the command of General Stephen W. Kearny, its mission the occupation of the broad territory stretching from New Mexico to California, and co-operation with other branches of the army in expeditions farther south. The advance division of this force consisted of 300 regulars of the first United States dragoons, under Major Edwin V. Sumner, afterwards a Major General in the Union Army, accompanied by a regiment of mounted volunteers called out by Governor Edwards of Missouri for this campaign, and commanded by Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan, and five additional companies of volunteers, including one of infantry and two of light cavalry, or a total of nearly seventeen hundred men. The reserve division comprised another regiment of Missouri volunteers under

Colonel Sterling Price, a battalion of four companies under Lieutenant-Colonel Willock, and the Mormon Battalion, in all about eighteen hundred men.

The advance of the army left Fort Leavenworth late in June with a supply train of over 1,000 mules, which was soon augmented by 400 wagons of the annual Santa Fe caravan. All the companies, except that of the artillery, encamped at the beginning of August near Bent's Fort on the Arkansas, after an uneventful but tedious march of some 650 miles across the plains. From Bent's Fort Captain P. St. George Cooke, with twelve picked men, was sent in advance as a kind of ambassador to treat with Governor Armijo for the peaceful submission of eastern New Mexico, "but really," says Bancroft, "to escort James Magoffin, the venerable ambassador, intrusted with a secret mission at Santa Fe."

Of this expedition, Cooke, in his "Conquest of New Mexico and California," says: "My mission * * * was in fact a pacific one. The general had just issued a proclamation of annexation of all the territory *east of the Rio Grande*; the government thus adopting the old claim of Texas; and thus, manifestly, in a statesmen's view, a bloodless process would lead to its confirmation in the treaty of peace; and the population would be saved from the bitterness of passing *subjugum*. The difficulty of a half measure remains; it cuts the isolated province in two! There must be an influential Micawber in the cabinet. At a plaintive complaint that I went to plant the olive from which he would reap a lau-

rel, the general endeavored to gloss the barren field of toil to which his subordinates, at least, were devoted."

The mission of Magoffin was, in part, successful, in so far that there was no armed resistance on the part of Governor Armijo to the American advance. Cooke's party arrived on the 12th of August at Santa Fe, and was hospitably received by Armijo, who seemed to think that the approach of the army was "rather sudden and rapid." He concluded to send a commissioner, in the person of Dr. Connelley, with whom the Captain set out the next day on his return to meet the army. Magoffin easily prevailed on the governor to make no defense at Apache Canyon, "a point on the approach to Santa Fe, which might have been held by a small force." He had more difficulty with Archuleta, the second in command, but by appealing to his ambition, and suggesting that by a pronunciamiento he might secure for himself Western New Mexico, he at length overcame that officer's patriotic objections, and thus secured an open road for the army.

Kearny's army left Bent's fort on the 2nd of August. His route was nearly identical with that traveled by the later line of stages, and differed but slightly from that of the modern Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. On the 14th, 15th and 16th, respectively, the army reached Las Vegas, Tecolote and San Miguel del Vado. At these places Kearny, now a brigadier-general, made a speech from a house-top, absolving the people from their allegiance to Armijo,

and promising protection to the life, property and religion of all who should peacefully submit to the new order of things. The alcalde, and, in some cases, the militia officers of each town, after taking the oath of allegiance to the United States, were continued in office.

The General's authority for this course has no ampler record than may be found in the confidential instructions received by him from the Secretary of War, dated July 3rd, 1846:

"Should you conquer and take possession of New Mexico and Upper California, you will establish temporary civil governments therein, abolishing all arbitrary restrictions that may exist, so far as it may be done with safety. In performing this duty, it would be wise and prudent to continue in their employment all such of the existing officers as are known to be friendly to the United States and will take the oath of allegiance to them. * * * You may assure the people of these provinces that it is the wish and design of the United States to provide for them a free government, with the least possible delay, similar to that which exists in our territories. They will be called on to exercise the rights of freemen in electing their own representatives to the territorial legislature. It is foreseen that what relates to the civil government will be a difficult and unpleasant part of your duty, and much must necessarily be left to your own discretion.

"In your whole conduct, you will act in such a manner as best to conciliate the inhabitants, and render them friendly to the United States."

Marcy also states: "No proclamation for circulation was ever furnished to General Kearny."

Acting under these instructions, General Kearny occupied all the principal towns of New Mexico, and organized a civil government for the territory, with the following officers:

Governor, Charles Bent, part owner of Bent's Fort, married to a native of Taos.

Secretary: Donaciano Vigil, a native of New Mexico, of long official experience in civil and military positions.

Marshal: Richard Dallam, an American mining operator at Los Placeres.

United States Attorney: Francis P. Blair, Jr., in later years famous as congressman, soldier, and statesman. Afterwards a defeated candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

Treasurer: Charles Blummer.

Auditor: Eugene Leitzendorfer, a Santa Fe trader, married to a daughter of a former governor, Santiago Abreu.

Superior Court Judges: Joab Houghton, Antonio Jose Otero, and Charles Beaubien.

A code of laws, founded mainly on the laws of Missouri and Texas, was prepared by Colonel Doniphan, who was an accomplished lawyer, and this code of laws was in force in New Mexico as late as the year 1885. This code, known as the Kearny code, was submitted to Congress, and with it there was also submitted an organic law for the territory of New Mexico, which provided for a permanent territorial organization under the laws of the United States, naming the first

Monday in August, 1847, as the day for electing a delegate to Congress.

After performing this work in New Mexico, General Kearny sent Colonel Doniphan south with a thousand men, to capture Chihuahua. About two thousand men, including many invalids, were left in command of Col. Price, to hold the territory already conquered, and General Kearny himself, with a force of about a hundred and fifty dragoons, started for California, and Captain Cooke, promoted to Lieutenant Colonel, was ordered to take command of the Mormon Battalion, and follow General Kearny to California.

On September 26th, 1846, General Kearny, with his small company of dragoons, commenced his march to California. On the 6th of October, he met Kit Carson with fifteen men, carrying important mail and dispatches for Washington. He gave General Kearny the great news of the subjugation of California by Commodore Stockton and Captain Fremont. Six of Carson's party were Delaware Indians; he had started with fifteen riding animals; the most of them had been ridden down and abandoned; others swapped two for one, with friendly Apaches. Carson had come by way of the Gila River, and advised General Kearny that no news of the invasion of New Mexico had been received in California. General Kearny determined that Carson should return with him and be his guide over the route he had just passed, but Carson resisted this attempt to make him turn back, and the General did not prevail until he

took upon himself every responsibility, especially the prompt and safe delivery of the dispatches. This instance furnishes one of the most striking illustrations of Carson's loyalty to his country. He had just ridden eight hundred miles over a desert, a very wilderness, where he had met with no human being except savages, likely to seek his destruction; he had ridden ninety miles without halting, over a jornada of sand; was on the border of civilization, near the residence of his family, but at the call of his country, he turned back for another year of absence. Surely this was no common sacrifice to duty.

On October 14th, General Kearny once more resumed his march, and, next day, being about two hundred and thirty miles below Santa Fe, he left the river, turned westward toward the copper mines on the Gila, and wrote to Colonel Cooke, assigning to him the command of the Mormon Battalion, and the task of opening a wagon road to the Pacific. From the copper mines, the General's route was nearly due west along the course of the Gila River. His train consisted entirely of pack mules, in addition to which he had two mountain howitzers, but no wagons. His journey across what is now the State of Arizona was uneventful. He traded mules with the Apaches headed by Mangus Colorado, and had several meetings with the Pimas, of whom his chronicler says:

"To us it was a rare sight to be thrown in the midst of a large nation of what are termed wild Indians, surpassing many of the Christian na-

tions in agriculture, little behind them in the useful arts, and immeasurably before them in honesty and virtue. During the whole of yesterday, our camp was full of men, women and children, who sauntered among our packs, unwatched, and not a single instance of theft was reported."

On the 25th of November, having reached the Colorado River, they forded that river, some of the horses swimming when its crooked course was lost; they camped fifteen miles below, at the first well, where only the men got water, and on the 12th day of December, General Kearny and his column reached San Diego.

The Mormon Battalion, which General Kearny had ordered Colonel Cooke to assume command of, arrived at Santa Fe on October 12th, 1846. It had been commanded by Lieutenant A. J. Smith, First Dragoons, on its long march from Fort Leavenworth. Everything conspired to discourage the extraordinary undertaking of marching this battalion eleven hundred miles, for the greater part of the journey through an unknown wilderness without road or trail, and with a wagon train. It was enlisted too much by families; some were too old, some feeble, and some too young. It was embarrassed by too many women; it was worn by travelling on foot, and marching from Nauvoo, Illinois, where it had been organized; they had little clothing, there was no money to pay them, or clothing to issue; their mules were entirely broken down; the quartermaster department was without funds, and its credit was not good, and mules were scarce. Those procured were inferior, and

were deteriorating every hour for lack of forage and grazing. A small party, with families, had been sent from Arkansas Crossing, up the river, to winter at a settlement near the mountains, which bore the name of Pueblo. After an inspection of the battalion, its ranks were reduced by the discharge of old men and those unfit for service by reason of physical incapacity, or youthfulness, from five hundred, to three hundred and fifty men, and with this number, and five wives of officers, who were reluctantly allowed to accompany the march, and who furnished their own transportation, Colonel Cooke, on October 19th, 1846, started upon his expedition. Before leaving Santa Fe, the battalion was paid by checks, not very available at that place. Using every effort, the quartermaster could only undertake to furnish rations for sixty days, and, in fact, full rations of only flour, sugar, coffee and salt. Salt pork could only be furnished for thirty days and soap for twenty. It was absolutely necessary to take with them pack saddles, so these were added to the equipment.

Upon this expedition Colonel Cooke had a large wagon train and his expedition was, as far as the country through which he passed was concerned, of more importance than that of General Kearny, because it demonstrated the fact that wagons could be used in crossing what is now the State of Arizona. Twenty-two miles from Santa Fe, Cooke turned south, continuing in a southwesterly direction some twenty-five or thirty miles to the Santa Rita Copper Mines, crossing the Mimbres River a little north of

where it sinks; thence continuing southwest through a small range of foothills, where water was obtained by digging.

Upon this expedition, Colonel Cooke had the services of several guides, the chief of them being Leroux, and another Pauline Weaver, of whom further mention will be made later on in this work. Leroux thought the country to the west was an open prairie and a good route to the San Pedro River, if water could be obtained in sufficient quantity. Colonel Cooke, however, continued his route in a southwesterly direction, to a point about fifteen miles north of Fronteras, Sonora, Mexico, thence in a northwesterly direction to the headwaters of the San Pedro River in Arizona. He followed this river about forty miles in a northerly direction, and from thence struck off to the northwest to Tucson, from which point, still going northwesterly, he struck the trail that General Kearny had made to the Pima Villages, and followed the Gila down to its junction with the Colorado.

In this march, which was made in the winter of 1846, the command suffered much hardship from lack of food and water, and also suffered from cold at night and heat by day. It met with no hostile forces of Indians or Mexicans but it was harassed a good deal by the wild cattle near the old abandoned ranch of San Bernardino, of which St. George Cooke says:

“The ox, in a perfectly wild state, abounds here; the guides have shot three or four. As we descended from the high ground, an immense red bull rushed by in front at great speed; it was

more novel and exciting than the sight of buffaloes."

On December 3rd, the command passed the day at San Bernardino and was disappointed in not obtaining mules from the Apaches. Along the San Pedro River, Colonel Cooke found bands of wild horses, herds of cattle and antelopes. Following this stream, on December 11th, the command had quite an engagement with bulls. Of this the Colonel says:

"I had to direct the men to load their muskets to defend themselves. The animals attacked in some instances without provocation, and tall grass in some places made the danger greater; one ran on a man, caught him in the thigh, and threw him clear over his body lengthwise; then it charged on a team, ran its head under the first mule and tore out the entrails of the one beyond. Another ran against a sergeant who escaped with severe bruises, as the horns passed at each side of him; one ran at a horse tied behind a wagon, and as it escaped, the bull struck the wagon with a momentum that forced the hind part of it out of the road. I saw one rush at some pack mules, and kill one of them. I was very near Corporal Frost, when an immense coal black bull came charging at us, a hundred yards. Frost aimed his musket, flintlock, very deliberately, and only fired when the beast was within six paces; it fell headlong, almost at our feet. One man, charged on, threw himself flat, and the bull jumped over him and passed on.

“A bull, after receiving two balls through its heart, and two through the lungs, ran on a man. I have seen the heart. Lieut. Stoneman was accidentally wounded in the thumb. We crossed a pretty stream, which I have named ‘Bull Run.’ ”

The Lieutenant Stoneman mentioned, was afterwards a general in the Union Army, and Governor of California. His son, Geo. Stoneman, is now a resident of this state, and one of its leading lawyers.

On December 14th, Colonel Cooke rode in among four or five Mexican soldiers, cutting grass, their horses, arms and saddles nearby. The sergeant in command of the Mexican party said that reports had been spread which alarmed the people who were about to fly, and he was sent by the commandant to request the Americans not to pass through the town (Tucson); that he had orders to prevent it, but that the Americans could pass on either side. Colonel Cooke told him to return and inform the commander of the garrison, that if it was very weak, he would probably not molest it, but to tell the people that the Americans were their friends and wanted to purchase flour, etc. He soon left. Before reaching Tucson, a commission was received by Cooke from the Commandant at Tucson, authorized to make a special armistice. “After a rather long conference, they were dismissed with the proposition that a few arms should be delivered as tokens of a surrender, which only

required them not to serve against the United States during the present war until exchanged."

At the last camp, about sixteen miles from the town, a cavalryman, well mounted and armed, was met, who delivered a dispatch refusing the terms offered. He was allowed to retire without answer. The battalion made ready for engagement, when soon thereafter two Mexicans were met, who gave the information that the post had been evacuated, and that most of the inhabitants had been forced to leave by the military, who had also carried off two brass cannon. About a dozen well mounted men met and accompanied the battalion into the town, some of whom were said to be soldiers. The command encamped about half a mile beyond the town. About a hundred of the perhaps five hundred inhabitants had remained. The barracks were situated upon high ground, enclosed by a wall with abutments and battlements in bad repair. Some provisions were brought to the camp for sale. The battalion was now without salt and only three bushels of that commodity could be obtained there. A quantity of wheat found in the forts was used for food, and as much as could be carried was ordered to be taken both for mules and men.

A note was left to be delivered to Captain Comaduran upon his return, enclosing a letter for the Governor of Sonora, at Ures, Don Manuel Gandara, who was said to be well disposed to the United States. It is here given:

“Camp at Tucson, Sonora, Dec. 18th, 1846.

“Your Excellency :—The undersigned, marching in command of a battalion of United States Infantry, from New Mexico to California, has found it convenient for the passage of his wagon train, to cross the frontier of Sonora. Having passed within fifteen miles of Fronteras, I have found it necessary to take this presidio in my route to the Gila.

“Be assured that I did not come as an enemy of the people whom you represent; they have received only kindness at my hands. Sonora refused to contribute to the support of the present war against my country, alleging the excellent reasons that all her resources were necessary to her defence from the incessant attacks of savages; that the central government gave her no protection, and was, therefore, entitled to no support. To this might have been added that *Mexico supports a war upon Sonora*. For I have seen the New Mexicans within her boundary trading for the spoil of her people, taken by murderous, cowardly Indians, who attack only to lay waste, rob and fly to the mountains, and I have certain information that this is the practice of many years; thus one part of Mexico allies itself against another.

“The unity of Sonora with the States of the north, now her neighbors, is necessary effectually to subdue these Parthian Apaches.

“Meanwhile I make a wagon road from the streams of the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, through the valuable plains, and mountains rich with minerals, of Sonora. This, I trust, will

prove useful to the citizens of either republic, who, if not more closely, may unite in the pursuits of a highly beneficial commerce.

“With sentiments of esteem and respect, I am your Excellency’s most obedient servant,

“P. St. George Cooke,

“Lieut.-Colonel of United States Forces, to his Excel’y Sen. Don. Manuel Gandara.

“Governor of Sonora, Ures, Sonora.”

On the 18th, the march was resumed, and on the 21st they struck General Kearny’s route on the Gila, and there went into camp. Here they were visited by many Indians from the Pima villages, which were eight miles away. The Indians flocked into camp, some being mounted, bringing small sacks of corn, flour, beans, etc. One brought letters from General Kearny and Major Swords, quartermaster-general, which mentioned eleven broken down mules and two bales of Indian goods left for him with the Pimas. Of the mules five had died, and the rest were, with the bales of Indian goods, turned over to the Colonel. The principal chief of the Pimas, Juan Antonio, stated to Colonel Cooke that the commander of Tucson had sent to demand the mules and goods left with them; that he refused to surrender them and declared that he would resist force with force. “He said I could see they were poor and naked, but they were content to live here by hard work, on the spot which God had given them, and not like others to rob or steal; that they did not fear us, and run like the Apaches, because they made it a rule to injure no one in any way, and therefore

never expected anyone to injure them. In fact the Apaches do not molest them; but it is owing to experience of their prowess."

Colonel Cooke says: "The Pimas are large and fine looking, seem well fed, ride good horses, and are variously clothed, though many have only the center cloth; the men and women have extraordinary luxuriance and length of hair. With clean white blankets and streaming hair, they present mounted quite a fine figure. But innocence and cheerfulness are their most distinctive characteristics. I am told the Mexican officers offered every persuasion, and promise of plunder, to excite hostility toward us. A few bushels of sweet corn were bought, and issued as rations."

Continuing, he says: "Several miles short of the village, groups of men, women and girls were met, coming to welcome the battalion. These last, naked generally above the hips, were of every age and pretty, walking often by twos with encircling arms; it was a gladdening sight, so much cheerfulness and happiness. One little girl, particularly, by a fancied resemblance, interested me very much; she was so joyous that she seemed very pretty and innocent; I could not resist tying on her head, as a turban, a bright new silk handkerchief, which I happened to wear to-day; the effect was beautiful to see—a picture of happiness."

"The camp is full of Indians, and a great many have some eatables, including water-melons, to trade; and they seem only to want clothing or cotton cloth, and beads. I am sorry they will be disappointed. It reminds me of a

crowded New Orleans market. There must be two thousand in camp, all enjoying themselves very much; they stroll about, their arms around each other, graceful and admirable in form; their language certainly sounds like ours, their honesty is perfect."

From this picture of the Pimas, it will be seen that the first Americans received from them a warm welcome, and that friendship has been continuous to the present day.

The march was resumed on the 23rd. The colonel stopped for a few moments at the house of the chief and told him that among the many Indians he had seen, the Pimas were the happiest and most prosperous, and that as long as they adhered to their principles of industry, honesty, peace and cheerful content, they would continue so; that while they never injured their neighbors, their true safety lay in uniting to resist vigorously every aggression; that wishing them well he desired to add to their comfort and welfare by introducing sheep among them, and gave him for the use of his people, three ewes with young, which was the best he could do.

At this point a letter was received from General Kearny, written at Warner's rancho, California, indicating that his arrival had been very important, not only to the welfare of California, but to its conquest.

The next camp was made at the village of the Maricopas, of whom this is said: "Notwithstanding a different language, all that has been said of the Pimas is applicable to them. They live in cordial amity, and their habits, agriculture and manufactures are the same, as also

their religion, which consists in a simple belief in a great ever-ruling spirit. This seems to have proved a foundation for a most enviable practical morality. Don Jose Messio is their governor, and their population is estimated as high as ten thousand. Their dwellings are domed shape wicker work, thatched with straw or cornstalks, and from twenty to fifty feet in diameter; in front is usually a large arbor, on which is piled the cotton in the pod for drying; horses, mules, oxen, chickens and dogs seem to be the only domestic animals; they have axes, hoes, shovels and harrows. The soil is so easily pulverized as to make the plow unnecessary."

Here, eight mules which had been abandoned by General Kearny, were picked up by the Maricopas and delivered to Colonel Cooke, who says:

"The hospitality and generosity of these allied tribes is noted; they feed and assist in every way travellers who are in need; fortunately, perhaps, these have been few. I observe them parching grain in a basket, by throwing in live coals and keeping all in motion, by tossing into the air.

"They have the simplicity of nature, and none of the affected reserve and dignity characteristic of other Indians, before whites. At the sound of a trumpet, playing of a violin, the killing of a beef, they rush to see and hear, with delight or astonishment strongly exhibited. About a half bushel of corn was procured for each animal, and three days' rations of corn meal."

On the 8th day of January, the battalion reached the mouth of the Gila. Four or five days were spent in crossing the Colorado, where the command lost a large portion of their flour.

Pushing on it arrived at Warner's rancho on the 21st, and bore its part in planting permanently the American flag upon the soil of California.

While General Kearny and Colonel Cooke were on their respective marches to California, Colonel Price, left in command of some two thousand men, many of them invalids, at Santa Fe, received information that efforts to excite a general revolt in New Mexico were being made. A former officer of the Mexican army was arrested, and a list of all the disbanded Mexican soldiers was found on his person. Many others, supposed to be implicated, were arrested, but the two leaders, Ortiz and Archuleta, made their escape to the south. A full investigation revealed that many influential persons in the territory were involved in the insurrection, but the prompt measures taken were effective in crushing it before it assumed proportions which would render it a menace to the United States. In this revolt, however, the newly appointed governor and other of the officers appointed by General Kearny lost their lives, and of this portion of the history of the newly acquired territory, St. George Cooke says:

"Charles Bent, the Governor, appointed by General Kearny, was an able man; amiable and married to a native of the country, he was considered quite popular; January 14th, he left Santa Fe to visit his family at San Fernando de Taos, near the Pueblo de Taos, about seventy miles north of Santa Fe, and near the top of the great southern promontory of the Rocky Mountains. There, January 19th, the governor, the sheriff, the circuit attorney, the prefect, and two

others were 'murdered in the most inhuman manner that savages could devise.' The same day, seven Americans were also murdered at Arroyo Hondo, and two others on the Rio Colorado. The prefect, Vigil, was a New Mexican, and the intention was apparent to murder every one who had accepted office under American rule."

Immediately upon receipt of this news, Colonel Price commenced an active campaign against the insurrectionists. He bombarded the town of Cañada, one of their strongholds, and also had engagements with the enemy at Embudo and the Pueblo of Taos. The loss to the enemy was so great that they sued for peace, which was granted by Colonel Price on the condition that the leaders of the insurrection should be delivered to him, which was done. Of the fate of these leaders, Colonel Cooke says:

"The principal leaders in this insurrection were Tafoya, Pablo Chavis, Pablo Montoya, Cortez and Tomas, a Pueblo Indian. Of these, Tafoya was killed at Cañada; Chavis was killed at Pueblo; Montoya was hanged at San Fernando on the 7th instant, and Tomas was shot by a private while in the guard room at the latter town. Cortez is still at large. This person was at the head of the rebels in the valley of Mora."

The campaign was vigorously prosecuted by Colonel Price, and the insurrection was effectually quelled, with great loss of life to the rebels, and some loss to the Americans. At the end of this chapter describing this insurrection and campaign, St. George Cooke says: "And New Mexico then submitted."

CHAPTER X.

TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO.

UNITED STATES IN POSSESSION OF MEXICAN TERRITORY—CIRCUMSTANCES CONCERNING WAR WITH MEXICO—THE TREATY PROTOCOL—BOUNDARIES—AREA—COST OF CESSION—DELIVERY OF THE CESSION.

On the first of January, 1848, the United States was in possession of the City of Mexico, the city of Chihuahua, and of the eastern seaports of Mexico, as well as of the territory now forming the States of New Mexico, Arizona and California, together with Lower California. California was the pawn which several European countries claimed and were trying to secure, and England, in particular, had she secured California, in all probability would have held all the coast territory west of the Rocky Mountains, including what is now the States of Utah, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, California and Nevada. She would probably have allowed Mexico or the United States to hold the Apache infested country of New Mexico and Arizona.

In order that my readers may be informed of the circumstances concerning the war with Mexico, and the subsequent acquisition by the United States of that part of the territory of Mexico in Arizona north of the Gila River, I quote here from Donaldson's "Public Domain" as follows:

"The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, between the United States and the Republic of Mexico, February 2nd, 1848, added to the national and

public domain the territory lying between the Rio Grande River north along the one hundred and sixth meridian of longitude west from Greenwich to the forty-second parallel north latitude, and along that parallel to the Pacific Ocean. Prior to the time that Commodore Sloat took possession of California, she had been the object of jealous attention on the part of several foreign nations. The Russians established themselves at Bodega, on the coast of California, in the year 1812, by permission of Spain, for the purpose of fishing and obtaining furs. Then, after this, they brought cattle, raised herds, and produced wheat. Forty miles from Bodega, beyond the San Sebastian river, they built Fort Slawianski, called by the Mexicans 'Fort of Ross.' They flew the Russian flag, and the military governor appointed by the Czar of Russia was in command. During the Mexican Revolution, they assumed to be the actual owners of the territory thus occupied. In the year 1842, through the fostering care of the Russian home government, this colony possessed one-sixth of the white population of California. After the United States finally acquired California, this military colony was withdrawn.

"In the year 1835 President Jackson proposed to the government of Mexico to purchase the territory lying east and north of a line drawn from the Gulf of Mexico along the eastern bank of the Rio Grande, up to the thirty-seventh parallel north latitude, and thence along that parallel to the Pacific Ocean. This would have obtained the Bay of San Francisco, but the negotiation failed. Fremont's expedition by

land, and Wilke's exploring expedition by sea and land, all under Government auspices, gave much information to the country at large of the Pacific Coast.

"In 1841, by order of Marshal Soult, minister of war of France, an attache of the French mission to Mexico, M. Duflot de Mofras, visited California and made a thorough exploration. He remained there two years.

"In 1846 an informal meeting of citizens and natives of California was held at Monterey to consider annexation. The consuls of England (Forbes), of France (Guys), and of the United States (Larkin), were working during this period to encourage in the Californians a desire for annexation to one of their respective countries. Members were elected to a convention to consider annexation, but it never met.

"It was claimed that Great Britain intended to seize California as an equivalent for the Mexican debt due to British subjects. She had a fleet in the Pacific waters watching the American fleet, and it entered the harbor of Monterey a few hours after Commodore Sloat had there raised the American flag, July 7, 1846. It is presumed from official action on the part of the naval and other officers of the United States Government, that our navy was to see that no foreign government took possession of California. (See Mr. Buchanan's letter to Minister Slidell, April 10, 1845, as to the French and English designs.)

"After the terms of annexation offered to Texas by the United States had been accepted by Texas, President Polk, in 1845, ordered the

army of the United States to occupy the western portion of Texas, between the Nueces and Rio Grande rivers, and to hold it. A strong naval force in the Gulf was ordered to co-operate with the army. Under date of November 10, 1845, Mr. Buchanan, Secretary of State, instructed John Slidell, United States Minister to Mexico, to offer the Mexican Government, for the cession of New Mexico and a boundary line on the Rio Grande and to the forty-second parallel north latitude, the assumption of claims of American citizens against Mexico and \$5,000,000; for the cession of the province of California, the assumption of claims of American citizens against Mexico, and \$25,000,000; and for the bay and harbor of San Francisco and north of it, \$20,000,000.

“On the 13th of May, 1846, Congress passed a law declaring that ‘war existed by the act of Mexico,’ and the war with Mexico ensued.

“April 15, 1845, President Polk commissioned Nicholas P. Trist, Esq., chief clerk of the Department of State, to proceed, as the confidential agent of the Government and commissioner to Mexico. He was furnished with a project of treaty stating the purchase prices to be paid for the extension of our boundary. Upon his arrival in Mexico, Mr. Trist opened his negotiations with the Mexican authorities. On the 2nd of September, 1847, he met the Mexican Commissioners and tried to arrange a treaty, but failed. A temporary armistice was granted. September 6, General Scott notified Santa Anna that he would resume military operations the next day,

as the armistice had been repeatedly broken. On the 17th, the war was resumed.

“November 22nd, proposals were received from the Mexican authorities for negotiations for a treaty.

“It was made by Nicholas Trist, Esq., on behalf of the United States (although a long time before recalled), and Luis G. Cuevas, Bernardo Couto and Miguel Atristain on the part of Mexico. This treaty was done at the city of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexico, February 2nd, 1848. Mr. Trist submitted it to Mr. Buchanan, Secretary of State, and President Polk sent it to the Senate with a message, on Wednesday, February 23rd, 1848. He recommended that the tenth article should not be ratified. The Senate, after debate, amended it. It was finally adopted, with amendments, March 10, 1848, by a vote of yeas 38 nays 14.

“By and with the advice of the Senate, President Polk appointed Hon. Ambrose H. Sevier (United States Senator), of Arkansas, and Hon. Nathaniel Clifford (Attorney-General), of Maine, commissioners to Mexico, as envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiaries. They took with them a copy of the treaty, with the amendments of the Senate duly ratified by the President, and had full powers to ratify the same. The protocol to the treaty was their work. They arrived at the city of Queretaro May 5, 1848. The amended treaty was submitted to the Mexican Senate on that day, and it passed by a vote of 33 ayes to 5 nays. It had previously passed the House of Deputies.

“On the 30th of May, at the same city, ratifications were exchanged, and afterwards the commissioners at the city of Mexico paid over the \$3,000,000 cash payment.

“Treaty of peace, friendship, limits and settlement, with the Republic of Mexico, concluded February 2, 1848; ratifications exchanged at Queretaro, May 30, 1848; proclaimed July 4, 1848.

“In the name of Almighty God:

“The United States of America and the United Mexican States, animated by a sincere desire to put an end to the calamities of the war which unhappily exists between the two Republics, and to establish upon a solid basis relations of peace and friendship, which shall confer reciprocal benefits upon the citizens of both, and assure the concord, harmony and mutual confidence wherein the two people should live, as good neighbors, have for that purpose appointed their respective plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

“The President of the United States has appointed Nicholas P. Trist, a citizen of the United States, and the President of the Mexican Republic has appointed Don. Luis Gonzaga Cuevas, Don Bernardo Couto, and Don Miguel Atristain, citizens of the said Republic;

“Who, after a reciprocal communication of their respective powers, have, under the protection of Almighty God, the author of peace, arranged, agreed upon, and signed the following treaty of peace, friendship, limits and settlement between the United States of America, and the Mexican Republic;

“ARTICLE I. There shall be firm and universal peace between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns and people, without exception of places or persons.

“ART. II. Immediately upon the signature of this treaty, a convention shall be entered into between a commissioner or commissioners appointed by the general-in-chief of the forces of the United States, and such as may be appointed by the Mexican Government, to the end that a provisional suspension of hostilities shall take place, and that in the places occupied by the said forces, constitutional order may be re-established, as regards the political, administrative, and judicial branches, so far as this shall be permitted by the circumstances of military occupation.

“ART. III. Immediately upon the ratification of the present treaty by the Government of the United States, orders shall be transmitted to the commanders of their land and naval forces, requiring the latter, (providing this treaty shall then have been ratified by the government of the Mexican Republic, and the ratifications exchanged), immediately to desist from blockading any Mexican ports; and requiring the former, (under the same condition), to commence, at the earliest moment practicable, withdrawing all troops of the United States then in the interior of the Mexican Republic, to points that shall be selected by common agreement, at a distance from the seaports not exceeding thirty leagues; and such evacuation of the interior of

the Republic shall be completed with the least possible delay; the Mexican Government hereby binding itself to afford every facility in its power for rendering the same convenient to the troops, on their march, and in their new positions, and for promoting a good understanding between them and the inhabitants. In like manner orders shall be dispatched to persons in charge of the custom-houses at all ports occupied by the forces of the United States, requiring them (under the same condition) immediately to deliver possession of the same to the persons authorized by the Mexican Government to receive it, together with all bonds and evidence of debt for duties on importations and on exportations, not yet fallen due. Moreover, a faithful and exact account shall be made out, showing the entire amount of all duties on imports and exports, collected at such custom-houses, or elsewhere in Mexico, by authority of the United States, from and after the day of ratification of this treaty, by the government of the Mexican Republic; and also an account of the cost of collection; and such entire amount, deducting only the cost of collection, shall be delivered to the Mexican Government, at the city of Mexico, within three months after the exchange of ratifications.

“The evacuation of the capital of the Mexican Republic by the troops of the United States, in virtue of the above stipulation, shall be completed in one month after the orders there stipulated for shall have been received by the commander of field troops, or sooner if possible.

“ART. IV. Immediately after the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty, all castles,

forts, territories, places and possessions which have been taken or occupied by the forces of the United States during the present war within the limits of the Mexican Republic, as about to be established by the following article, shall be definitely restored to the said Republic, together with all the artillery, arms, apparatus of war, munitions, and other public property, which were in the said castles and forts when captured, and which shall remain there at the time when this treaty shall be duly ratified by the government of the Mexican Republic. To this end, immediately upon the signature of this treaty, orders shall be dispatched to the American officers commanding such castles and forts, securing against the removal or destruction of any such artillery, arms, apparatus of war, munitions or other public property. The city of Mexico, within the inner line of intrenchment surrounding the said city, is comprehended in the above stipulation, as regards the restoration of artillery, apparatus of war, etc.

“The final evacuation of the territory of the Mexican Republic, by the forces of the United States, shall be completed in three months from the said exchange of ratifications, or sooner if possible; the Mexican government hereby engaging as in the foregoing article, to use all means in its power for facilitating such evacuation, and rendering it convenient to the troops, and for promoting a good understanding between them and the inhabitants.

“If, however, the ratification of this treaty by both parties should not take place in time to allow the embarkation of the troops of the

United States to be completed before the commencement of the sickly season, at the Mexican ports on the Gulf of Mexico, in such cases a friendly arrangement shall be entered into between the general-in-chief of the said troops, and the Mexican Government, whereby healthy and otherwise suitable places at a distance from the ports not exceeding thirty leagues, shall be designated for the residence of such troops as may not yet have embarked, until the return of the healthy season. And the space of time referred to as comprehending the sickly season shall be understood to extend from the first day of May to the first day of November.

“All prisoners of war taken on either side, on land or on sea, shall be restored as soon as practicable after the exchange of ratifications of this treaty. It is also agreed that if any Mexicans should now be held as captives by any savage tribe within the limits of the United States, as about to be established by the following article, the Government of the said United States will exact the release of such captives and cause them to be restored to their country.

“ART. V. The boundary line between the two Republics shall commence in the Gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land opposite the mouth of the Rio Grande, otherwise called the Rio Bravo del Norte, or opposite the mouth of its deepest branch, if it should have more than one branch emptying directly into the sea; from thence up the middle of that river, following the deepest channel, where it has more than one, to the point where it strikes the southern boundary of New Mexico; then westwardly, along the

whole southern boundary of New Mexico (which runs north of the town called Paso) to its western termination; thence northward, along the western line of New Mexico, until it intersects the first branch of the river Gila (or if it should not intersect any branch of that river, then to the point on the said line nearest to such branch, and thence in a direct line to the same); thence down the middle of the said branch, and of the said river, until it empties into the Rio Colorado; thence across the Rio Colorado, following the division line between Upper and Lower California, to the Pacific Ocean.

“The southern and western limits of New Mexico, mentioned in this article, are those laid down in the map entitled: *‘Map of the United Mexican States, as organized and defined by various acts of the congress of said Republic, and constructed according to the best authorities. Revised edition. Published at New York, in 1847, by J. Disturnell’*; of which map a copy is added to this treaty, bearing the signatures and seals of the undersigned plenipotentiaries. And, in order to preclude all difficulty in tracing upon the ground the limit separating Upper from Lower California, it is agreed that the said limit shall consist of a straight line drawn from the middle of the Rio Gila where it unites with the Colorado, to a point on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, distant one marine league due south of the southernmost point of the port of San Diego, according to the plan of said port made in the year 1782 by Don Juan Pantoja, second sailing master of the Spanish Fleet, and published at Madrid in the year 1802, in the atlas to the voyage of the

schooners *Sutil* and *Mexicana*; of which plan a copy is hereunto added, signed and sealed by the respective plenipotentiaries.

“In order to designate the boundary line with due precision, upon authoritative maps, and to establish upon the ground landmarks which shall show the limits of both Republics, as described in the present article, the two governments shall each appoint a commissioner and a surveyor, who before the expiration of one year from the date of exchange of ratifications of this treaty, shall meet at the port of San Diego, and proceed to run and mark the said boundary in its whole course to the mouth of the Rio Bravo del Norte. They shall keep journals and make out plans of their operations; and the result agreed upon by them shall be deemed a part of this treaty; and shall have the same force as if it were inserted therein. The two governments will amicably agree regarding what may be necessary to these persons, and also as to their respective escorts, should such be necessary.

“The boundary line established by this article, shall be religiously respected by each of the two Republics, and no change shall ever be made therein, except by the express and free consent of both nations, lawfully given by the General Government of each, in conformity with its own constitution.

“ART. VI. The vessels and citizens of the United States shall, in all time, have a free and uninterrupted passage of the Gulf of California, and by the river Colorado below its confluence with the Gila, to and from their possessions situated north of the boundary line defined in the

preceding article; it being understood that this passage is to be by navigating the Gulf of California, and the river Colorado, and not by land, without the express consent of the Mexican Government.

“If, by the examinations which may be made, it should be ascertained to be practicable and advantageous to construct a road, canal, or railway, which should be in whole or in part run upon the river Gila, or upon its right or its left bank, within the space of one marine league from either margin of the river, the governments of both Republics will form an agreement regarding its construction, in order that it may serve equally for the use and advantage of both countries.

“ART. VII. The river Gila, and the part of the Rio Bravo del Norte, lying between the southern boundary of New Mexico, being, agreeably to the fifth article, divided in the middle between the two Republics, the navigation of the Gila and of the Bravo below said boundary shall be free and common to the vessels and citizens of both countries, and neither shall, without the consent of the other, construct any work that may impede or interrupt, in whole or in part, the exercise of this right; not even for the purpose of favoring new methods of navigation. Nor shall any tax or contribution, under any denomination or title, be levied upon vessels or persons navigating the same, or upon merchandise or effects transported thereon, except in the case of landing upon one of their shores. If, for the purpose of making the said rivers navigable, or

for maintaining them in such state, it should be necessary or advantageous to establish any tax or contribution, this shall not be done without the consent of both Governments.

“The stipulations contained in the present article shall not impair the territorial rights of either Republic within its established limits.

“ART. VIII. Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico and which remain for the future within the limits of the United States, as defined by the present treaty, shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove at any time to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories, or disposing thereof, and removing the proceeds wherever they please, without their being subjected, on this account, to any contribution, tax, or charge whatever.

“Those who shall prefer to remain in the said territories, may either retain the title and rights of Mexican citizens, or acquire those of citizens of the United States. But they shall be under the obligation to make their election within one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty; and those who shall remain in the said territories after the expiration of that year, without having declared their intention to retain the character of Mexicans shall be considered to have elected to become citizens of the United States.

“In the said territories, property of every kind, now belonging to Mexicans not established there, shall be inviolably respected. The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans

who may hereafter acquire said property by contract, shall enjoy with respect to it guarantees equally ample as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States.

“ART. IX. The Mexicans who, in the territories aforesaid, shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic, conformably with what is stipulated in the preceding article, shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and be admitted at the proper time, (to be judged of by the Congress of the United States), to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States, according to the principles of the Constitution; and in the meantime, shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without restriction.

“ART. X. (Stricken out).

“ART. XI. Considering that a great part of the territories, which, by the present treaty, are to be comprehended for the future within the limits of the United States, is now occupied by savage tribes, who will hereafter be under the exclusive control of the Government of the United States, and whose incursions within the territory of New Mexico would be prejudicial in the extreme, it is solemnly agreed that all such incursions shall be forcibly restrained by the Government of the United States, whensoever this may be necessary; and that when they cannot be prevented, they shall be punished by the said government, and satisfaction for the same shall be exacted—all in the same way, and with equal diligence and energy, as if the same incur-

sions were meditated or committed within its own territory, against its own citizens.

“It shall not be lawful, under any pretext whatever, for any inhabitant of the United States, to purchase or acquire any Mexican, or any foreigner residing in Mexico, who may have been captured by Indians inhabiting the territory of either of the two Republics; nor to purchase or acquire horses, mules, cattle, or property of any kind, stolen within such Mexican territory by such Indians.

“And in the event of any person or persons, captured within Mexican territory by Indians, being carried into the territory of the United States, the Government of the latter engages and binds itself in the most solemn manner, so soon as it shall know of such captives being within its territory, and shall be able so to do, through the faithful exercise of its influence and power, to rescue them and return them to their country, or deliver them to the agent or representative of the Mexican Government. The Mexican authorities will, as far as practicable, give to the Government of the United States notice of such captures; and its agents shall pay the expenses incurred in the maintenance and transportation of the rescued captives; who, in the meantime, shall be treated with the utmost hospitality by the American authorities at the place where they may be. But if the Government of the United States, before receiving such notice from Mexico, should obtain intelligence through any other channel, of the existence of Mexican captives within its territory, it will proceed forthwith to

effect their release and delivery to the Mexican agent, as above stipulated.

“For the purpose of giving to these stipulations the fullest possible efficacy, thereby affording the security and redress demanded by their true spirit and intent, the Government of the United States will now and hereafter pass, without unnecessary delay, and always vigilantly enforce, such laws as the nature of the subject may require. And, finally, the sacredness of this obligation shall never be lost sight of by the said Government, when providing for the removal of the Indians from any portion of the said territories, or for its being settled by citizens of the United States; but, on the contrary, special care shall then be taken not to place its Indian occupants under the necessity of seeking new homes, by committing those invasions which the United States have solemnly obliged themselves to restrain.

“ART. XII. In consideration of the extension acquired by the boundaries of the United States, as defined in the fifth article of the present treaty, the Government of the United States engages to pay to that of the Mexican Republic the sum of fifteen millions of dollars.

“Immediately after this treaty shall have been duly ratified by the Government of the Mexican Republic, the sum of three millions of dollars shall be paid to the said Government by that of the United States, at the city of Mexico, in the gold or silver coin of Mexico. The remaining twelve millions of dollars shall be paid at the same place, and in the same coin, in annual instalments of three millions of dollars each, to-

gether with interest on the same at the rate of six per centum per annum. This interest shall begin to run upon the whole sum of twelve millions from the day of the ratification of the present treaty by the Mexican Government and the first of the instalments shall be paid at the expiration of one year from the same day. Together with each annual instalment, as it falls due, the whole interest accruing on such instalment from the beginning shall also be paid.

“ART. XIII. The United States engage, moreover, to assume and pay to the claimants all the amounts now due them, and those hereafter to become due, by reason of the claims already liquidated and decided against the Mexican Republic under the conventions between the two republics severally concluded on the eleventh day of April, eighteen hundred and thirty-nine, and on the thirtieth day of January, eighteen hundred and forty-three; so that the Mexican Republic shall be absolutely exempt for the future, from all expense whatever on account of the said claims.

“ART. XIV. The United States do furthermore discharge the Mexican Republic from all claims of citizens of the United States, not heretofore decided against the Mexican Government, which may have arisen previously to the date of the signature of this treaty; which discharge shall be final and perpetual, whether the said claims be rejected or be allowed by the board of commissioners provided for in the following article, and whatever shall be the total amount of those allowed.

“ART. XV. The United States, exonerating Mexico from all demands on account of the claims of their citizens mentioned in the preceding article, and considering them entirely and forever cancelled, whatever their amount may be, undertakes to make satisfaction for the same, to an amount not exceeding three and one-quarter millions of dollars. To ascertain the validity and amount of those claims, a board of commissioners shall be established by the Government of the United States, whose awards shall be final and conclusive; provided that, in deciding upon the validity of each claim, the board shall be guided and governed by the principles and rules of decision prescribed by the first and fifth articles of the unratified convention, concluded at the city of Mexico on the twentieth day of November, one thousand eight hundred and forty-three; and in no case shall an award be made in favor of any claim not embraced by these principles and rules.

“If, in the opinion of the said board of commissioners or of the claimants, any books, records, or documents in the possession or power of the Government of the Mexican Republic shall be deemed necessary to the just decision of any claim, the commissioners, or the claimants through them, shall, within such period as Congress may designate, make an application in writing for the same, addressed to the Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs, to be transmitted by the Secretary of State of the United States, and the Mexican Government engages, at the earliest possible moment after the receipt of such demand, to cause any of the books, records

or documents so specified, which shall be in their possession or power, (or authenticated copies or extracts of the same) to be transmitted to the said Secretary of State, who shall immediately deliver them over to the said board of commissioners; provided that no such application shall be made by or at the instance of any claimant, until the facts which it is expected to prove by such books, records or documents, shall have been stated under oath or affirmation.

“ART. XVI. Each of the contracting parties reserves to itself the entire right to fortify whatever point within its territory it may judge proper so to fortify for its security.

“ART. XVII. The treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, concluded at the city of Mexico, on the fifth day of April, A. D. 1831, between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, except the additional article, and except so far as the stipulations of the said treaty may be incompatible with any stipulation contained in the present treaty, is hereby revived for the period of eight years from the day of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, with the same force and virtue as if incorporated therein; it being understood that each of the contracting parties reserves to itself the right, at any time after the said period of eight years shall have expired, to terminate the same by giving one year's notice of such intention to the other party.

“ART. XVIII. All supplies whatever for troops of the United States in Mexico, arriving at ports in the occupation of such troops previous to the final evacuation thereof, al-

though subsequently to the restoration of the custom-houses at such ports, shall be entirely exempt from duties and charges of any kind; the Government of the United States hereby engaging and pledging its faith to establish, and vigilantly to enforce all possible guards for securing the revenue of Mexico, by preventing the importation, under cover of this stipulation, of any articles other than such, both in kind and in quantity, as shall really be wanted for the use and consumption of the forces of the United States during the time they may remain in Mexico. To this end it shall be the duty of all officers and agents of the United States to denounce to the Mexican authorities at the respective ports any attempts at a fraudulent abuse of this stipulation, which they may know of or may have reason to suspect, and to give to such authorities all the aid in their power with regard thereto; and every such attempt, when duly approved and established by sentence of a competent tribunal, shall be punished by the confiscation of the property so attempted to be fraudulently introduced.

“ART. XIX. With respect to all merchandise, effects and property whatsoever, imported into ports of Mexico whilst in the occupation of the force of the United States, whether by citizens of either republic, or by citizens or subjects of any neutral nation, the following rules shall be observed:

“1. All such merchandise, effects and property, if imported previously to the restoration of the custom-houses to the Mexican authorities, as stipulated for in the third article of this

treaty, shall be exempt from confiscation, although the importation of the same be prohibited by the Mexican tariff.

“2. The same perfect exemption shall be enjoyed by all such merchandise, effects, and property, imported subsequently to the restoration of the custom-houses, and previously to the sixty days fixed in the following article for the coming into force of the Mexican tariff at such ports respectively; the said merchandise, effects, and property being, however, at the time of their importation, subject to the payment of duties, as provided for in the said following articles:

“3. All merchandise, effects and property described in the two rules foregoing shall, during their continuance at the place of importation, and upon their leaving such place for the interior, be exempt from all duty, tax, or impost of every kind, under whatsoever title or denomination. Nor shall they be there subjected to any charge whatsoever upon the sale thereof.

“4. All merchandise, effects and property described in the first and second rules, which shall have been removed to any place in the interior whilst such place was in the occupation of the forces of the United States, shall, during their continuance therein, be exempt from all tax upon the sale or consumption thereof, and from every kind of impost or contribution, under whatsoever title or denomination.

“5. But if any merchandise, effects, or property, described in the first and second rules, shall be removed to any place not occupied at the time by the forces of the United States, they shall, upon their introduction into such place, or upon

their sale or consumption there, be subject to the same duties which, under the Mexican laws, they would be required to pay in such cases, if they had been imported in time of peace, through the maritime custom-houses, and had there paid the duties conformably with the Mexican tariff.

“6. The owners of all merchandise, effects or property, described in the first and second rules, and existing in any port of Mexico, shall have the right to reship the same, exempt from all tax, impost, or contribution whatever.

“With respect to the metals, or other property, exported from any Mexican port whilst in the occupation of the forces of the United States, and previously to the restoration of the custom-house at such port, no person shall be required by the Mexican authorities, whether general or state, to pay any tax, duty or contribution upon any such importation, or in any manner to account for the same to the said authorities.

“ART. XX. Through consideration for the interest of commerce generally, it is agreed, that if less than sixty days should elapse between the date of the signature of this treaty and the restoration of the custom-houses, conformably with the stipulation in the third article, in such case all merchandise, effects, and property whatsoever, arriving at the Mexican ports after the restoration of the said custom-houses, and previously to the expiration of sixty days after the day of the signature of this treaty, shall be admitted to entry; and no other duties shall be levied thereon than the duties established by the tariff found in force at such custom-house at the

time of the restoration of the same. And to all such merchandise, effects and property, the rules established by the preceding article shall apply.

“ART. XXI. If unhappily any disagreement shall hereafter arise between the Governments of the two republics, whether with respect to the interpretation of any stipulation in this treaty, or with respect to any other particular concerning the political or commercial relations of the two nations, the said Governments, in the name of those nations, do promise to each other that they will endeavor, in the most sincere and earnest manner, to settle the differences so arising, and to preserve the state of peace and friendship in which the two countries are now placing themselves, using, for this end, mutual representations and pacific negotiations. And if, by these means, they should not be enabled to come to an agreement, a resort shall not, on this account, be had to reprisals, aggression, or hostility of any kind by the one republic against the other, until the Government of that which deems itself aggrieved shall have naturally considered, in the spirit of peace and good neighborhood, whether it would not be better that such differences should be settled by the arbitration of commissioners appointed on each side, or by that of a friendly nation. And should such course be proposed by either party, it shall be acceded to by the other, unless deemed by it altogether incompatible with the nature of the difference or the circumstances of the case.

“ART. XXII. If (which is not to be expected, and which God forbid) war should

unhappily break out between the two republics, they do now, with a view to such calamity, solemnly pledge themselves to each other and to the world to observe the following rules; absolutely where the nature of the subject permits, and as closely as possible in all cases where such absolute observance shall be impossible:

“1. The merchants of either republic then residing in the other shall be allowed to remain twelve months, (for those dwelling in the interior), and six months, (for those dwelling at the seaports), to collect their debts and settle their affairs; during which periods they shall enjoy the same protection, and be on the same footing, in all respects, as the citizens or subjects of the most friendly nations; and at the expiration thereof, or at any time before, they shall have full liberty to depart, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hindrance, conforming therein to the same laws which the citizens or subjects of the most friendly nations are required to conform to. Upon the entrance of the armies of either nation into the territories of the other, women and children, ecclesiastics, scholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, merchants, artisans, manufacturers, and fishermen, unarmed and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages or places, and, in general, all persons whose occupations are for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, shall be allowed to continue their respective employments, unmolested in their persons. Nor shall their houses or goods be burnt or otherwise destroyed, nor their cattle taken, nor their fields wasted, by the armed force into whose power, by the events of

war, they may happen to fall; but if the necessity arise to take anything from them for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at an equitable price. All churches, hospitals, schools, colleges, libraries, and other establishments for charitable and beneficent purposes, shall be respected, and all persons connected with the same, protected in the discharge of their duties and the pursuit of their vocations.

“2. In order that the fate of prisoners of war may be alleviated, all such practices as those of sending them into distant, inclement, or unwholesome districts, or crowding them into close and noxious places, shall be studiously avoided. They shall not be confined in dungeons, prisonships, or prisons; nor be put in irons, or bound, or otherwise restrained in the use of their limbs. The officers shall enjoy liberty on their paroles, within convenient districts, and have comfortable quarters; and the common soldiers shall be disposed in cantonments, open and extensive enough for air and exercise, and lodged in barracks as roomy and good as are provided by the party in whose power they are for its own troops. But if any officer shall break his parole, by leaving the district so assigned him, or any other prisoner shall escape from the limits of his cantonment, after they shall have been designated to them, such individual, officer, or other prisoner, shall forfeit so much of the benefit of this article as provides for his liberty on parole or in cantonment. And if any officer so breaking his parole, or any common soldier so escaping from the limits assigned him, shall afterwards be found in arms, previously to his being

regularly exchanged, the person so offending shall be dealt with according to the established laws of war. The officers shall be daily furnished, by the party in whose power they are, with as many rations, and of the same articles, as are allowed, either in kind or by commutation, to officers of equal rank in its own army; and all others shall be daily furnished with such rations as is allowed to a common soldier in its own service; the value of all which supplies shall at the close of the war, or at periods to be agreed upon between the respective commanders, be paid by the other party, on a mutual adjustment of accounts for the subsistence of prisoners; and such accounts shall not be mingled with or set off against any others, nor the balance due on them be withheld, as a compensation or reprisal for any cause whatever, real or pretended. Each party shall be allowed to keep a commissary of prisoners, appointed by itself, with every cantonment of prisoners, in possession of the other; which commissary shall see the prisoners as often as he pleases; shall be allowed to receive, exempt from all duties or taxes, and to distribute, whatever comforts may be sent to them by their friends, and shall be free to transmit his reports in open letter to the party by whom he is employed.

“And it is declared that neither the pretense that war dissolves all treaties, nor any other whatever, shall be considered as annulling or suspending the solemn covenant contained in this article. On the contrary, the state of war is precisely that for which it is provided; and, during which, its stipulations are to be as

sacredly observed as the most acknowledged obligations under the law of nature or nations.

“ART. XXIII. This treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof; and by the President of the Mexican Republic, with the previous approbation of its general Congress, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the city of Washington, or at the seat of Government of Mexico, in four months from the date of the signature thereof or sooner if practicable.

“In faith whereof, we, the respective plenipotentiaries, have signed this treaty of peace, friendship, limits and settlement, and have hereunto affixed our seals respectively. Done in quintuplicate, at the city of Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the second of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.

(Seal)

N. P. Trist.

(Seal)

Luis G. Cuevas.

(Seal)

Bernardo Couto.

(Seal)

Migl. Atristain.

PROTOCOL.

“In the city of Queretaro, on the twenty-sixth of the month of May, eighteen hundred and forty-eight, at a conference between their excellencies, Nathan Clifford and Ambrose H. Sevier, Commissioners of the U. S. of A., with full powers from their Government to make to the Mexican Republic suitable explanations in regard to the amendments which the Senate and Government of the said United States have

made in the treaty of peace, friendship, limits and definitive settlement between the two Republics, signed in Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the second day of February, of the present year; and his Excellency Don Luis de la Rosa, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Mexico; it was agreed, after adequate conversation, respecting the changes alluded to, to record in the present protocol the following explanations, which their aforesaid excellencies the Commissioners gave in the name of their Government and in fulfillment of the commission conferred upon them near the Mexican Republic:

“1st. The American Government by suppressing the IXth article of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and substituting the IIIId article of the treaty of Louisiana, did not intend to diminish in any way what was agreed upon by the aforesaid article IXth in favor of the inhabitants of the territories ceded by Mexico. Its understanding is that all of that agreement is contained in the 3d article of the treaty of Louisiana. In consequence all the privileges and guaranties, civil, political, and religious, which could have been possessed by the inhabitants of the ceded territories, if the IXth article of the treaty had been retained, will be enjoyed by them, without any difference, under the article which has been substituted.

“2d. The American Government by suppressing the Xth article of the treaty of Guadalupe did not in any way intend to annul the grants of lands made by Mexico in the ceded territories. These grants, notwithstanding the suppression of the article of the treaty, preserve

the legal value which they may possess, and the grantees may cause their legitimate (titles) to be acknowledged before the American tribunals.

“Conformably to the laws of the United States, legitimate titles to every description of property, personal and real, existing in the ceded territories are those which were legitimate titles under the Mexican law in California and New Mexico up to the 13th of May, 1846, and in Texas up to the 2d March, 1836.

“3d. The Government of the United States, by suppressing the concluding paragraph of article XIIth of the treaty, did not intend to deprive the Mexican Republic of the free and unrestrained faculty of ceding, conveying or transferring at any time (as it may judge best) the sum of the twelve millions of dollars which the same government of the United States is to deliver in the places designated by the amended article.

“And these explanations having been accepted by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Mexican Republic, he declared, in name of his Government, that with the understanding conveyed by them the same Government would proceed to ratify the treaty of Guadalupe, as modified by the Senate and Government of the United States. In testimony of which, their Excellencies, the aforesaid Commissioners and the Minister have signed and sealed, in quintuplicate, the present protocol.

(Seal)

(Seal)

(Seal)

A. H. Sevier.

Nathan Clifford.

Luis de la Rosa.

ARTICLES REFERRED TO IN THE FIFTEENTH ARTICLE OF THE PRECEDING TREATY.

First and Fifth articles of the unratified convention between the United States and the Mexican Republic of the 20th November, 1843.

ARTICLE I.

“All claims of citizens of the Mexican Republic against the Government of the United States which shall be presented in the manner and time hereinafter expressed, and all claims of citizens of the United States against the Government of the Mexican Republic, which, for whatever cause, were not submitted to, nor considered, nor finally decided by, the commission, nor by the arbiter appointed by the convention of 1839, and which shall be presented in the manner and time hereafter specified, shall be referred to four commissioners, who shall form a board, and shall be appointed in the following manner, that is to say: Two commissioners shall be appointed by the President of the Mexican Republic, and the other two by the President of the United States, with the approbation and consent of the Senate. The said commissioners, thus appointed, shall, in presence of each other, take an oath to examine and decide impartially the claims submitted to them, and which may lawfully be considered, according to the proofs which shall be presented, the principles of right and justice, the law of nations, and the treaties between the two republics.

ARTICLE V.

“All claims of citizens of the United States against the Government of the Mexican Republic, which were considered by the commissioners, and referred to the umpire appointed under the convention of the eleventh April, 1839, and which were not decided by him, shall be referred to, and decided by, the umpire to be appointed, as provided by this convention, on the points submitted to the umpire under the late convention, and his decision shall be final and conclusive. It is also agreed, that if the respective commissioners shall deem it expedient, they may submit to the said arbiter new arguments upon the said claim.

“THE EVACUATION OF THE CITY OF MEXICO BY THE UNITED STATES.

“At 6 o'clock, A. M., June 12, 1848, the flag of the United States was taken down from the National palace in the city of Mexico, and the colors of Mexico hoisted in their stead, the customary honors being paid to both. The last division of the American army was withdrawn, and the occupation of Mexico by the United States was at an end. July 4, 1848, President Polk issued proclamation of the foregoing treaty.

“BOUNDARIES, AREA, AND COST OF CESSION:

“By this cession the United States obtained the acknowledgment of the boundaries of Texas, annexed in 1845, and the territory west of the Rio Grande, and of a meridian north from its

course to the forty-second parallel on the north, the Pacific Ocean on the west, and the national boundary on the south established by this treaty. (See Article V.) This boundary was afterwards altered by the addition of the land purchased by the Gadsden treaty of 1853, and the present national boundary was established. The area of territory obtained by this treaty (exclusive of the Texas cession, in doubt as to part) was estimated at 522,568 square miles, viz.:

	Square miles.
Lying now in the State of California, being the entire State.....	157,801
The entire State of Nevada.....	112,090
Arizona (except the Gadsden purchase of 1853)	82,381
New Mexico west of the Rio Grande and north of the Gadsden purchase of 1853).....	42,000
Utah, entire	84,476
Colorado, west of the Rocky Mountains..	29,500
Wyoming, the southwest portion.....	14,320
In all estimated at.....	522,568
or 334,443,520 acres.	

“All of this became national and public domain, and the land laws of the United States were extended over it by congress (for disposition and sale), excepting certain grants made therein by Spanish and Mexican authorities. It cost principal sum under the treaty, \$15,000,000.

“The southern and western boundary of this cession is (west of Texas) the boundary of the public as well as of the national domain. The

boundary lines were settled and surveyed by a joint commission.

DELIVERY OF THE CESSION.

“The United States being in possession, by military force, no formal delivery of the territory was had other than by the payment of the sum stipulated and fixing and determining the boundary line.

CHAPTER XI.

BOUNDARY COMMISSION SURVEY AND GADSDEN PURCHASE.

JOHN B. WELLER — JOHN C. FREMONT — JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT — MAJOR W. H. EMORY — GADSDEN PURCHASE AND TREATY — PROPOSITION SUBMITTED TO CONGRESS BY MR. GADSDEN.

According to the terms of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the Commissioners of the Boundary Survey were to be appointed within one year from the signing of the treaty. Mexico appointed General Pedro Garcia Conde, and President Polk, early in 1849, appointed John B. Weller, who had served in Congress from Ohio, and afterwards in the United States Senate from California, and also as Governor of the last mentioned State.

In February, 1850, after establishing the initial point for the survey, the Commission adjourned. Soon thereafter Weller was superseded by John C. Fremont who, having been elected Senator from California, during that year resigned from the position of Commissioner, and John Russell Bartlett of Massachusetts, in June, 1850, was appointed in his place. Bartlett organized his force and a military escort was provided by the Government for the Commission. There was a large corps of engineers, surveyors and assistants over whom Lieut. A. W. Whipple, of the Topographical Engineers, was placed. Lieut. Whipple also

performed the astronomical duties, while John Bull was the principal surveyor in charge of this department of the work. They selected their assistants and entered upon the performance of their duties on the 3d of September, 1850.

Part of the duty of this Boundary Survey Commission was to make notes of the northern part of Chihuahua and Sonora and the adaptability of that country to a railroad route.

At San Antonio, an advance party was sent ahead with a view to reaching El Paso on the first Monday of November, the 4th day of the month, the day fixed upon for the meeting of the joint Commission. Commissioner Bartlett was in charge of this party and selected to accompany him Thomas H. Webb, Secretary of the Commission, Robert C. Murphy, Asst. Secretary and Clerk, George Thurber, Botanist and Commissioner, Theodore F. Moss, Geologist, John C. Cremony, Interpreter, Edward C. Clark, Quartermaster, Robert E. Matthews, John B. Stewart, Thomas Thompson, S. P. Sandford, J. Thomas McDuffie, Thomas Dunn, George C. Garner, J. E. Weems, Jr., Clement Young, C. Neville Sims, George S. Pierce and A. P. Wilbur, assistants in the engineering and surveying corps, with a mason, blacksmith, a harnessmaker, a carpenter, a tailor, and cooks, hunters and teamsters, making altogether a party of thirty persons. This party reached El Paso November 13th, a distance from San Antonio to that place of six hundred and thirty-five miles. It was found impracticable to conduct the survey to the east on account of the expense and difficulty in

obtaining supplies, and, therefore, the start was made from the eastern border. Commissioner Bartlett issued the following:

“General Order for the government of the Advance Party of the U. S. Mexican Boundary Commission, on its march from San Antonio to El Paso del Norte.

“As this portion of the Commission is entering a country inhabited by warlike tribes of Indians, where no resources can be had beyond what the prairies supply, it is absolutely necessary that a rigid observance be kept of the following order:

“The same organization of the cavalry company formed at Indianola, will be continued to El Paso.

“Mr. Geo. S. Pierce, commanding the cavalry, will act as master of the camp, detailing for the guard whatever force may be deemed necessary for the safety of the train.

“Every member of the Commission, the teamsters and cooks excepted, is expected to do guard duty.

“The train and escort will keep as close together as possible; and after leaving Fredericksburg, no one will be permitted to leave the train beyond a short limit.

“Mr. Cremony will take charge of the ammunition, inspect the arms, and report in what manner every man is armed. Economy must be used in the ammunition, as the quantity in the train is limited.

“As there is one *jornada* of seventy miles without water, and we may suffer inconvenience elsewhere, every man who has not already pro-

vided himself with a canteen or gourd, will do so before leaving Fredericksburg.

“In case of any difficulty or accident to the wagons, it is expected that every one will lend all the aid in his power to remove it, and hasten the movement of the train.

“Mr. E. C. Clark, the acting quartermaster, will arrange the encampment, and direct the distribution of the forage. It is absolutely necessary that there should be an equal distribution of corn, and no one will be permitted to take more than is assigned or delivered to him. On this depends the safety of our animals, and consequently our own. A limited quantity of corn can only be taken, and great economy must be used in its distribution.

“On coming into camp, holes must be dug for the fires, which must, when the ground permits, be placed in hollows, or beneath a hill, in order to conceal the encampment as much as possible.

John R. Bartlett,
Commissioner.”

This survey of the boundary line under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, was not permanently established, because in 1853, under the Gadsden purchase, Mexico ceded to the United States a strip of land south of the river Gila, from the Rio Grande on the east to a point twenty miles below the mouth of the Gila on the west, on the Colorado, estimated to contain 45,535 square miles, or 29,142,400 acres, 14,000 square miles of which are now contained in the State of New Mexico, and 31,535 square miles in the State of Arizona, for the sum of ten millions

of dollars. The boundary line under the Gadsden treaty was established in 1855-56.

These surveys, as we have seen, began in 1849, and continued, with many interruptions, until 1856. During the establishment of the boundary line agreed upon by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, four different commissioners were appointed, four of astronomer, and two of surveyor. These changes, and the want of means to properly carry on the work, with differences of opinion as to the proper initial point on the Rio Grande, caused much delay.

Major W. H. Emory, in 1856, succeeded Bartlett as Commissioner, and completed the survey under the terms of the Gadsden purchase, fixing the boundaries as established at present.

The line finally established under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, extended up the Rio Grande from its mouth to latitude $31^{\circ} 54' 40''$ north; thence west along that parallel to the meridian of $109^{\circ} 37'$ west; thence due south to the Rio San Domingo; thence down that stream to the Gila; thence down the Gila to its mouth; thence in a straight line to the point on the Pacific, in latitude $32^{\circ} 32'$ north.

Many reconnaissances were made by different parties in going to and from various points on the line, and the Rio Grande was surveyed up as far as the parallel of $32^{\circ} 22'$ north, and a portion of that parallel was run by Lieutenant Whipple, as directed by Mr. Bartlett, commissioner at that time.

The treaty of 1853, by which the tract of territory known as the Gadsden purchase was acquired from Mexico, changed the boundary line

so as to make it commence on the Rio Grande at latitude $31^{\circ} 47'$ north; thence due west 100 miles; thence south to latitude $31^{\circ} 30'$ north; thence due west to the one hundred and eleventh meridian; thence in a straight line to a point on the Colorado twenty miles below its junction with the Gila; thence up the Colorado to the former line.

To establish this boundary, Major Emory, then Brevet Major Corps Topographical Engineers, was appointed Commissioner and astronomer on the part of the United States, and Jose Salazar Ilarregui, was appointed commissioner on the part of the republic of Mexico, and the work was accomplished during the years 1855-56.

Major Emory was assisted in this work by Lieutenant N. Michler, Topographical Engineers, and others. Captain G. Thom, Topographical Engineers, had charge of the office in computing the work and projecting the maps of both boundary surveys.

What is known as the Gadsden Purchase, mention of which has been made, was acquired by the United States under a treaty made by the United States with the Republic of Mexico, which, together with an explanatory note, I give in full:

“Under the administration of President Pierce, December 30, 1853, a treaty was entered into by James Gadsden, United States minister to Mexico, and Don Manuel Diez de Bonilla, Secretary of State, Jose Salazar Ylarregui, and J. Mariano Monterde, as scientific commissioners on behalf of the Republic of Mexico, for the purchase of the tract of land now lying in the southern part of the territories of New Mexico and

Arizona, then in the Republic of Mexico and adjoining the United States, south of the river Gila, and from the Rio Grande on the east to a point twenty miles below the mouth of the Gila on the west, on the Colorado River. The Gila River and branches from this point eastward was the boundary fixed by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in 1848. This purchase was for the purpose of more correctly defining and making a more regular line and certain boundary between the United States and Mexico.

“The treaty was as follows:

“Treaty with Mexico. Concluded December 30, 1853; ratifications exchanged June 30, 1854; proclaimed June 30, 1854.

“In the name of Almighty God:

“The Republic of Mexico and the United States of America, desiring to remove every cause of disagreement which might interfere in any manner with the better friendship and intercourse between the two countries, and especially in respect to the true limits which should be established, when, notwithstanding what was covenanted in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in the year 1848, opposite interpretations have been urged, which might give occasion to questions of serious moment: to avoid these and to strengthen and more firmly maintain the peace which happily prevails between the two republics, the President of the United States has, for this purpose, appointed James Gadsden, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the same, near the Mexican Government, and the President of Mexico has appointed as Plenipotentiary ‘*ad hoc*’ his excellency Don Manuel

Diaz de Bonilla, cavalier grand cross of the national and distinguished order of Guadalupe, and Secretary of State and of the office of Foreign Relations, and Don Salazar Ylarregui and General Mariano Monterde, as scientific commissioners, invested with full powers for this negotiation; who, having communicated their respective full powers, and finding them in due and proper form, have agreed upon the articles following:

ARTICLE I.

“The Mexican Republic agrees to designate the following as her true limits with the United States for the future: Retaining the same dividing line between the two Californias as already defined and established, according to the 5th article of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the limits between the two republics shall be as follows: Beginning in the Gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land, opposite the mouth of the Rio Grande, as provided in the fifth article of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; thence, as defined in the said article, up the middle of that river to the point where the parallel of $31^{\circ} 47'$ north latitude crosses the same; thence due west one hundred miles; thence south to the parallel of $31^{\circ} 20'$ north latitude; thence along the said parallel of $31^{\circ} 20'$ to the 111th meridian of longitude west of Greenwich; thence in a straight line to a point on the Colorado twenty English miles below the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers; thence up the middle of the said river Colorado until it intersects the present line between the United States and Mexico.

“For the performance of this portion of the treaty, each of the two Governments shall nominate one commissioner, to the end that, by common consent, the two thus nominated having met in the city of Paso del Norte, three months after the exchange of the ratification of this treaty, may proceed to survey and mark out upon the land the dividing line stipulated by this article, where it shall not have already been surveyed and established by the mixed commission, according to the treaty of Guadalupe, keeping a journal and making proper plans of their operations. For this purpose, if they should judge it necessary, the contracting parties shall be at liberty each to unite to its respective commissioner scientific or other assistants, such as astronomers and surveyors, whose concurrence shall not be considered necessary for the settlement and ratification of a true line of division between the two republics; that line shall be alone established upon which the commissioners may fix, their consent in this particular being considered decisive and an integral part of this treaty, without necessity of ulterior ratification or approval, and without room for interpretation of any kind by either of the parties contracting.

“The dividing line thus established shall, in all time, be faithfully respected by the two Governments, without any variation therein, unless of the express and free consent of the two, given in conformity to the principles of the law of nations, and in accordance with the constitution of each country, respectively.

“In consequence, the stipulation in the 5th article of the treaty of Guadalupe upon the

boundary line therein described is no longer of any force, wherein it may conflict with that here established, the said line being considered annulled and abolished wherever it may not coincide with the present, and in the same manner remaining in full force where in accordance with the same.

ARTICLE II.

“The Government of Mexico hereby releases the United States from all liability on account of the obligations contained in the eleventh article of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; and the said article and the thirty-third article of the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, concluded at Mexico on the fifth day of April, 1831, are hereby abrogated.

ARTICLE III.

“In consideration of the foregoing stipulations, the Government of the United States agrees to pay to the Government of Mexico, in the city of New York, the sum of ten millions of dollars, of which seven millions shall be paid immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, and the remaining three millions as soon as the boundary line shall be surveyed, marked and established.

ARTICLE IV.

“The provisions of the 6th and 7th articles of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo having been rendered nugatory for the most part by the cession of territory granted in the first article of this treaty, the said articles are hereby abrogated

and annulled, and the provisions as herein expressed substituted therefor. The vessels and citizens of the United States shall, in all time, have free and uninterrupted passage through the Gulf of California, to and from their possessions situated north of the boundary line of the two countries. It being understood that this passage is to be by navigating the Gulf of California and the river Colorado, and not by land without the express consent of the Mexican Government; and precisely the same provisions, stipulations and restrictions, in all respects, are hereby agreed upon and adopted, and shall be scrupulously observed and enforced by the two contracting Governments, in reference to the Rio Colorado, so far and for such distance as the middle of that river is made their common boundary line by the first article of this treaty.

“The several provisions, stipulations, and restrictions contained in the 7th article of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo shall remain in force only so far as regards the Rio Bravo del Norte, below the initial of the said boundary provided in the first article of this treaty; that is to say, below the intersection of the $31^{\circ} 47' 30''$ parallel of latitude, with the boundary line established by the late treaty dividing said river from its mouth upwards, according to the 5th article of the treaty of Guadalupe.

ARTICLE V.

“All the provisions of the eighth and ninth, sixteenth and seventeenth articles of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo shall apply to the territory ceded by the Mexican Republic in the first

article of the present treaty, and to all the rights of persons and property, both civil and ecclesiastical, within the same, as fully and effectually as if the said articles were herein again recited and set forth.

ARTICLE VI.

“No grants of land within the territory ceded by the first article of this treaty bearing date subsequent to the day—twenty-fifth of September—when the Minister and subscriber to this treaty on the part of the United States proposed to the Government of Mexico to terminate the question of boundary, will be considered valid or to be recognized by the United States, or will any grants made previously be respected or be considered as obligatory which have not been located and duly recorded in the archives of Mexico.

ARTICLE VII.

“Should there, at any future period (which God forbid) occur any disagreement between the two nations which might lead to a rupture of their relations and reciprocal peace, they bind themselves in like manner to procure by every possible method the adjustment of every difference; and should they still in this manner not succeed, never will they proceed to a declaration of war without having previously paid attention to what has been set forth in article 21 of the treaty of Guadalupe for similar cases; which article, as well as the 22d, is here re-affirmed.

ARTICLE VIII.

“The Mexican Government having on the 5th of February, 1853, authorized the construction

of a plank and rail road across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and to secure the stable benefits of said transit way to the persons and merchandise of the citizens of Mexico and the United States, it is stipulated that neither Government will interpose any obstacle to the transit of persons and merchandise of both nations; and at no time shall higher charges be made on the transit of persons and property of citizens of the United States than may be made on the persons and property of other foreign nations, nor shall any interest in said transit way nor in the proceeds thereof, be transferred to any foreign government.

“The United States, by its agents, shall have the right to transport across the isthmus, in closed bags, the mails of the United States not intended for distribution along the line of communication; also the effects of the United States Government and its citizens, which may be intended for transit, and not for distribution on the isthmus, free of customhouse or other charges by the Mexican Government. Neither passports nor letters of security will be required of persons crossing the isthmus and not remaining in the country.

“When the construction of the railroad shall be completed, the Mexican Government agrees to open a port of entry in addition to the port of Vera Cruz, at or near the terminus of said road on the Gulf of Mexico.

“The two Governments will enter into arrangements for the prompt transit of troops and munitions of the United States which that Government may have occasion to send from one

part of its territory to another, lying on opposite sides of the continent.

“The Mexican Government having agreed to protect with its whole power the prosecution, preservation and security of the work, the United States may extend its protection as it shall judge wise to it when it may feel sanctioned and warranted by the public or international law.

ARTICLE IX.

“This treaty shall be ratified and the respective ratifications shall be exchanged at the city of Washington within the exact period of six months from the date of its signature, or sooner if possible.

“In testimony whereof we, the Plenipotentiaries of the contracting parties, have hereunto affixed our hands and seals at Mexico, the thirtieth (30th) day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-three, in the thirty-third year of the Independence of the Mexican Republic, and the seventy-eighth of that of the United States.

(Seal)

James Gadsden.

(Seal)

Manuel Diez de Bonilla.

(Seal)

Jose Salazar Ylarregui.

(Seal)

J. Mariano Monterde.”

Mr. Gadsden returned from Mexico with the drafts of three treaties, either of which, if accepted by the United States, to cause the others to be of no effect.

These treaties were numbered according to the quantity of territory and amounts mentioned in them.

First: Starting from a point in the center of the Rio Grande, thence west on the parallel of latitude 30° north to the Gulf of California, thence to take in the whole of Lower California, for which the United States were to pay the sum of \$25,000,000.

Second: Starting, as now, from the center of the Rio Grande some eight miles above El Paso, north latitude $31^{\circ} 37'$; thence west one hundred miles; thence south to north latitude 31° ; thence west to the Gulf of California, for which the United States were to pay Mexico the sum of \$15,000,000.

Third: This was the "Skeleton Treaty," finally agreed to, which embraced all the country ceded by Mexico to the United States under what is generally known as the "Gadsden Purchase" for which the United States were to, and did, pay the sum of \$10,000,000.

The argument advanced for the adoption of the treaty which gave us the land embraced in the Gadsden Purchase, was that the United States would have a port on the Colorado River. At that time the Gila River was also supposed to be navigable, and the land embraced within the purchase, according to the surveys which had been previously made, and the expedition of Capt. P. St. George Cooke, with his wagon train, proved it to be easily adapted for a railroad. The whole country was thought to be barren; great statesmen of that day declared that Arizona was almost exclusively a desert, and so also was New Mexico; that neither of these great States could ever support any large population. This, however, was the argument advanced by

those who were opposed to the extension of slavery and regarded all territory that might be acquired by the United States, south of the 33rd parallel, as future slave territory. Could they have realized that in the short period of twelve years thereafter slavery would have been abolished in the Southern States, there is little doubt but that the first treaty submitted by Gadsden would have been adopted. This would have given to us the port of Guaymas on the Gulf of California, and the major portion of what is now Sonora and Chihuahua, and all of Lower California.

The war with Mexico, conceding that it was one of conquest, changed the map of the American continent very much in favor of the United States. There is no doubt that had not President Polk acted with promptness in the outset of his administration toward the settlement of the disputes between the United States and England, the colonization of Oregon and the annexation of Texas and the vast territory ceded by Mexico to the United States as a war indemnity, that England would have acquired a permanent holding in California, and, possibly all the Western States adjacent thereto. In her magnanimity, she may have left Arizona and New Mexico to the Republic of Mexico. The United States would have acquired a much larger slice of what is now Mexican territory, and a harbor upon the Gulf of California, and all of Lower California, had it not been for the slavery question, which obtruded itself at that time into all legislation by Congress.

CHAPTER XII.

TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS.

SKILL AND CRAFTINESS OF THE APACHES—INEZ GONZALES—HER CAPTURE AND RESCUE—POSITION TAKEN BY INDIANS WITH REFERENCE TO CAPTIVES—INTERVIEWS BY COMMISSIONER BARTLETT WITH MANGUS COLORADO, DELGADITO AND PONCE.

From the very commencement of the American occupation of Arizona, the Indian began to give trouble. The United States had pledged itself, as has been seen, by the 11th Article of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, to protect the Mexican border as far as possible from Indian encroachments, and, also, whenever Mexican citizens were made captives by the Indians, the United States was to restore them to their homes. This was rather a mammoth undertaking, for at that time, exclusive of the Navajo nation, which was frequently at war with the whites, and which was a part of the Apache nation who supported themselves principally through stock raising, there were at least five or six thousand warriors of the different Apache tribes; different entirely from the Indians of the plains in their mode of warfare and tribal government.

These Indians never fought in the open, nor went into battle unless the odds were all in their favor. They understood the country well and from the rocky peaks, noted every wagon train and every party of whites that entered their territory. Through smoke signals, they could tele-

graph from point to point for many miles, and could call together at any time a formidable band of warriors to concentrate at any given point. They could so disguise themselves in the grass as to become entirely invisible to the naked eye. The apparently casual turning over of a stone close to the highway had its significance; the breaking of a few branches in the forest, which seemed an accidental occurrence, had its meaning. "They were," says Cremony, "neither more nor less than lithographic notices by which one party could know the force of another—the direction taken—the extent and nature of the danger which threatened, and impart the summons for a gathering."

An Apache never attacked unless fully convinced of an easy victory. They would watch for days, scanning every move, observing every act, and taking note of the party under espionage and of all their belongings. Their assaults were never made on the spur of the moment by bands accidentally encountered; they were invariably the result of long watching—patient waiting, careful and rigorous observation and anxious counsel.

For the most part they were truthful and inclined to observe their treaty stipulations. Their women were chaste, and polygamy, to some extent, was practiced among them. Horses were the evidence of wealth among them, and they were the most adept thieves known in any land, always on the alert to drive off horses, cattle and four-footed beasts of any kind.

Commissioner Bartlett, in his "Personal Narrative," gives accounts of interviews with the Indians, which I quote elsewhere.

It was the habit of the Indians to capture Mexicans and execute the males of age to bear arms with the most savage torture; adopting the children into the tribe, and selling the women to a class of human brutes who shipped them to Santa Fe, where they were sold for immoral purposes.

The case of Inez Gonzales, an instance of this sort, is described by Bartlett as follows:

“On the 27th June an incident occurred, which will long be remembered by every one connected with the Boundary Commission. It was such as to awaken the finest sympathies of our nature; and by its happy result afforded a full recompense for the trials and hardships attending our sojourn in this inhospitable wilderness.

“On the evening of the day alluded to, a party of New Mexicans came in for the purpose of procuring provisions, etc., having with them a young female and a number of horses and mules. By what dropped from them, in the course of conversation, it was ascertained that the female and animals had been obtained from the Indians, and that they were taking the girl to some part of New Mexico, to sell or make such disposition of her as would realize the most money. As all traffic of this kind, whether in mules or captives, was strictly forbidden by the treaty with Mexico, I deemed it my duty, as the nearest and highest representative of the government of the United States in this region, to interfere in the matter. My authority for so doing, is contained in the second and third sections of the eleventh article of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo referred to, where it is declared that:—

“ ‘It shall not be lawful, under any pretext whatever, for any inhabitant of the United States to purchase or acquire any Mexican, or any foreigner residing in Mexico, who may have been captured by Indians inhabiting the territory of either of the two republics, nor to purchase or acquire horses, mules, cattle, or property of any kind, stolen within Mexican territory by such Indians.

“ ‘And in the event of any person, or persons, captured within Mexican territory by Indians, being carried into the territory of the United States, the government of the latter engages and binds itself, in the most solemn manner, so soon as it shall know of such captives being within its territory and shall be able to do so through the faithful exercise of its influence and power, to rescue them and return them to their country, or deliver them to the agent or representative of the Mexican Government. The Mexican authorities will, as far as practicable, give to the Government of the United States notice of such captures; and its agent shall pay the expenses incurred in the maintenance and transmission of the rescued captives, who, in the meantime, shall be treated with the utmost hospitality by the American authorities at the place where they may be. But if the government of the United States, before receiving such notice from Mexico, should obtain intelligence through any other channel of the existence of Mexican captives within its territory, it will proceed forthwith to effect their release and delivery to the Mexican agents, as above stipulated.’ ”

“With this authority before me, I addressed a note to Lieut. Colonel Craig, commander of the

escort, requesting him to demand the surrender of the female, and to prohibit the men, who intended departing at early dawn, from leaving their encampment until further orders. This request, which was made late in the evening, was promptly complied with under the immediate directions of Lieutenant D. C. Green.

“The ensuing day the three principal traders of the party were brought up to the fort, and separately examined, in reference to the manner in which they had obtained, and the right they had to the possession of the captive girl and the animals. These three persons were Peter Blacklaws, a trader in Santa Fe, Pedro Archeveque, a laborer of Algodones, and Jose Faustin Valdez, a laborer of Santa Fe.

“Their evidence was somewhat conflicting—more particularly with respect to the female. It appeared that there was a party of about fifty men who had been trading with the Indians north of the Gila; a portion of them still remained there, whilst another portion (about twenty) were here, on their way back to Santa Fe. The whole had been trading under *one and the same license*, although it was acknowledged that the name of none of them, save Peter Blacklaws, was inserted in it; he, however, declared that he was authorized—which is hardly probable—to add to his party as many as he chose. This license was called for, but not produced, it being, as was stated, in the possession of the other portion of the party. They seemed to consider themselves fully authorized, by virtue of the license, to purchase any species of the property held by Indians, and this without any regard to the manner in which the latter obtained it.

They seemed surprised that I should question their rights on the strength of a treaty, the stipulations of which they knew nothing about.

“As respects the captive girl, who it was acknowledged was bought of the Pinal Indians, even placing their conduct in the most favorable light, it was quite apparent that she was purchased, like any other article of merchandise, as a matter of speculation. According to part of the testimony, the expedition was fitted out for the express purpose of buying her; while others declared that the purchase was an incidental matter. It appeared that her apprehensions at being taken by these men still further from her home, instead of being restored to her natural protectors, had been quieted by assurances that her purchaser was acquainted with relatives of hers at Santa Fe; although his testimony showed, as might have been anticipated: that he had no such acquaintances at all.

“The girl herself was quite young, artless and interesting in appearance, prepossessing in manners, and by her deportment gave evidence that she had been carefully brought up. The purchaser belonged to a people with whom the system of peonage prevails, and among them, as a general thing, females are not estimated as with us, especially in a moral point of view. The fate that threatened her under these circumstances, being too apparent, I felt under no necessity of regarding the protestations of Blacklaws, as to the honesty of his intentions, inasmuch as the treaty prohibits purchases of this kind ‘*under any pretext whatever.*’ I therefore deemed it to be my duty—and a pleasant one it certainly was,

to extend over her the protection of the laws of the United States, and to see that, until delivered in safety to her parents, she should be 'treated with the utmost hospitality' that our position would allow.

"The substance of the following brief statement was furnished by this young captive:

"Her name is Inez Gonzales, daughter of Jesus Gonzales, of Santa Cruz, a small frontier town near the River San Pedro, in the State of Sonora. She was then in the fifteenth year of her age. In the September preceding, she had left her home, in company with her uncle, her aunt, another female, and a boy, on a visit to the fair of San Francisco, in the town of Magdalena, about 75 miles distance. They were escorted by a guard of ten soldiers, under the command of an ensign named Limon. When one day's journey out, viz., on the 30th of September, 1850, they were attacked by a band of Pinal Indians, who lay in ambush in a narrow wooded canyon or pass. Her uncle was killed, and all the guard, save three persons, who made their escape. She, with her two female companions, and the boy, Francisco Paschecho, were carried away into captivity. She has been with the Indians ever since. The other captives she understands were purchased and taken to the north by a party of New Mexicans who made the Indians a visit last winter. No improper freedom was taken with her person, but she was robbed of her clothing, save a skirt and under linen, and was made to work very hard. She spent the whole period of her captivity at two of the regular rallying spots or planting grounds of the Pinals.

“This tribe, known as the Pinal, or Pinalenos, embraces about five hundred souls, and ranges over an extensive circuit between the Sierra Pinal and the Sierra Blanca, both of which mountains are near the Upper San Francisco River, about five days’ journey north of the Gila. Within this space the young girl knew of at least twelve female captives, besides numerous males. Generally, the Indians are very willing to sell, that being their object in making the captives. The men spend their time in hunting and depredating, and the women are required to do all the work in their wigwams, and generally in the field. All females in this respect being treated alike, their own faring no better than captives. Their food consists almost exclusively of the root of the maguay, baked as I have before described.

“I never saw any of the Pinal Indians, though a band was met by one of the surveying parties on the Gila. They were described to me as a fine looking people. At first, they were shy; but when they discovered that our party were Americans, and were well disposed towards them, they became quite friendly. On inquiring of the Apache chiefs concerning them, I learned that they belong to the same great tribe, but seldom have any intercourse with the Apaches proper, being separated from them by broad forests and lofty mountains.

“General Garcia Conde, the Mexican Commissioner, being encamped about twenty-six miles off, I dispatched a messenger to him, requesting his presence, to advise and co-operate with me in this matter. He accordingly visited me, and upon inquiring, found that he was acquainted

with the released captive's father, a respectable citizen of Santa Cruz. He approved warmly of my course, evincing, as it would, to his government, a determination on the part of the United States to solemnly and faithfully fulfil its treaty stipulations. He also particularly solicited that the young woman should be kept under my protection until such time as she could be restored in safety to her home.

"The fair captive was, of course, taken care of by the Commission. She was well clad with such materials as the sutler of the escort and the commissary of the Commission could furnish, and besides the more substantial articles of clothing provided for her, she received many presents from the gentlemen of the Commission, all of whom manifested a deep interest in her welfare, and seemed desirous of making her comfortable and happy. But with all the attention extended to her, her situation was far from enviable in a camp of over a hundred men, without a single female with whom she could hold any intercourse. She found employment enough in making her own garments, being quite expert at her needle, and occasionally spent an hour in reading the few Spanish books in our possession."

On the 23rd of September, the Commission having approached Inez Gonzales' home, she was, after having been with the Commission nearly three months, restored to her parents. Commissioner Bartlett describes this restoration in the following language:

"Before setting out this morning, two men started in advance to advise the mother of Inez of our approach, and when within two miles of

the town, we saw a small party approaching, partly on mules and partly on foot, among whom were the fair captive's mother, brothers, and uncle. As we drew nearer, Mr. Cremony helped Inez from the saddle, when in perfect ecstacy, she rushed to her mother's arms. Words cannot express the joy manifested on this happy occasion. Their screams were painful to hear. The mother could scarcely believe what she saw, and after every embrace and gush of tears, she withdrew her arms to gaze on the face of her child. I have witnessed many scenes on the stage, of the meeting of friends after a long separation, and have read highly wrought narratives of similar interviews, but none of them approached in pathos the spontaneous burst of feeling exhibited by the mother and daughter on this occasion. Thanks to the Almighty rose above all other sounds, while they remained clasped in each other's arms, for the deliverance from captivity, and the restoration of the beloved daughter to her home and friends. Although a joyful scene, it was a painfully affecting one to the spectators, not one of whom could restrain his tears. After several minutes of silence, the fond parent embraced me, and the other gentlemen of the party, in succession, as we were pointed out by her daughter; a ceremony which was followed by her uncle, and the others, who had by this time joined us. We then remounted our animals and proceeded towards the town in silence, and it was long before either party could compose themselves sufficiently to speak.

“As we journeyed on, we met other villagers coming out to meet us, and among them two lit-

tle boys from eight to twelve years of age. They were the brothers of Inez; and when they saw their sister, they sprung upon the saddle with her clasping their little arms around her, and like their mother, bursting into tears. Releasing their embrace, Inez pointed to us, when the little fellows ran up to our horses, and eagerly grasped our hands, trotting along by our sides, while the tears rolled down their cheeks. A little further, we were met by another lad about twelve years of age. He, too, embraced the returning captive, and like the others, burst into tears. But those tears were excited by feelings very different from those awakened in the other boys, the brothers of Inez. They were tears of despair—of long cherished hope checked in the bud—of disappointment—of pain—of misery. This poor boy was the child of the woman who was made a captive by the Apaches, at the same time with Inez. She and Inez had left their homes together, one year ago this very day, for the fair of Magdalena, where their party was when attacked by the Apaches, and all but three killed or taken prisoners. Of the three who were made captives, no news had ever been heard; and the poor girl now returning, was the first intelligence that either was in existence. The little orphan wrung his hands with despair as he raised his eyes first to the companion of his mother, and then to us, thinking perhaps that we might have regained his parent, as well as her. I was much affected when Inez told me who this lad was, and resolved that I would make an effort for her restoration too, as soon as I could communicate the particulars to the govern-

ment, as she is the person who was bought by the New Mexican traders, and taken to Santa Fe, a short time before the purchase of Inez.

"As we drew near the town, numbers of the inhabitants came out to meet us, and welcome back the restored captive. When about half a mile distant, Inez wished to dismount and walk thence to the church, that she might first offer up her prayers for her deliverance from captivity, before going to her home. Accordingly we all dismounted and accompanied her to the door of the church; and there she was met by many more of her friends, when they all passed forward and knelt down before the altar. We left them engaged in prayer, and waited outside the church until their devotions were concluded. They then passed out, and escorted Inez, her parents, brothers and sister, to their home."

In a note Commissioner Bartlett says that he has spoken of the father of Inez Gonzales; that he was in fact her stepfather, and named Jesus Ortiz; that he seemed ardently attached to her, and told Commissioner Bartlett that he loved her as his own.

Commissioner Bartlett also gives an account of the difficulties attending his first attempt to restore to their homes two Mexican youths, who had been captured by the Indians, and sought his protection. The interviews following, between himself and the leading Apache chiefs, show the position which the Indians assumed, and which they defended with a great deal of native ability. This incident occurred at the Copper Mines where the Commissioner was encamped, and of it, Bartlett says:

“Two Mexican boys suddenly rushed into the tent of Mr. Cremony, which was pitched in the outskirts of the place, and sought his protection from their Indian captors. He at once brought them to my quarters, and on being questioned, they stated that they had been stolen from their homes by the Apaches. One, named Saverro Aredia, and about thirteen years old, had been taken from the town of Bacucachi, in the State of Sonora, six months before; the other, Jose Trinfan, ten or twelve years of age, belonged to Fronteras, in the same State, and had been held a prisoner six years. Believing, from what they had heard the Indians say, who had visited the Copper Mines, that they would find protection with us, they sought our camp. They were both intelligent looking boys; their hair was cropped short, and they were entirely naked.

“When these youths were brought to us, Mangus Colorado and Delgadito, two prominent chiefs of the Apaches, and a number of their tribe, were present; they already knew of the escape of the prisoners, and at once proposed that I should purchase them. I declined, telling them that the Americans did not buy captives; and, furthermore, that having sought my protection, I should not deliver them up. In vain I endeavored to make the chiefs comprehend our treaty with Mexico, and the principles of justice and humanity on which it was based. They did not, or would not, understand and left our camp evidently much offended. I requested Mangus Colorado to come to me on the following day when I would endeavor to satisfy him. The day arrived, but Mangus did not appear; and I

began to be fearful that the friendly feeling between the Commission and the Indians would be terminated by this event. I received intimations that the boys were not safe, and that an attempt would probably be made to recapture them the first opportunity. Determined not to be thwarted in this way, I sent them off at night, well clothed, in charge of four resolute men, with directions to take them to the camp of General Conde, and deliver them into his hands.

“After the lapse of several days, the chiefs with their people, including the owner of one of the boys, again made their appearance. The matter was again talked over, but nothing was decided, and they returned to their camp. After several fruitless conferences of this sort, the affair was at length so arranged that the captives should be retained by us, and our friendly relations not be impaired. As this last discussion was one of much interest, it was taken down by one of the gentlemen present. I give it, therefore, at length, as the arguments used by my opponents display to good advantage their natural shrewdness of character. It was commenced by Mangus Colorado, who thus addressed me:

“Mangus Colorado:—Why did you take our captives from us?

“Commissioner:—Your captives came to us and demanded our protection.

“Mangus Colorado:—You came to our country. You were well received by us. Your lives, your property, your animals, were safe. You passed by ones, by twos, and by threes, through our country; you went and came in peace. Your strayed animals were always brought home to

you again. Our wives, our children, and women, came here and visited your houses. We were friends! We were brothers! Believing this, we came amongst you and brought our captives, relying on it that we were brothers, and that you would feel as we feel. We concealed nothing. We came not here secretly in the night. We came in open day, and before your faces, and we showed our captives to you. We believed your assurances of friendship, and we trusted them. Why did you take our captives from us?

“Commissioner:—What we have said to you is true and reliable. We do not tell lies. The greatness and dignity of our nation forbids our doing so mean a thing. What our great brother has said is true, and good also. I will now tell him why we took his captives from him. Four years ago, we, too, were at war with Mexico. We know that the Apaches make a distinction between Chihuahua and Sonora. They are at peace with Chihuahua, but always fighting against Sonora. We in our war did not make that distinction. The Mexicans, whether living in one or the other state, are all one nation, and we fought them as a nation. Well, when the war was over, in which we conquered, we made peace with them. They are now our friends, and by the terms of the peace, we are bound to protect them. We told you this when we came to this place, and we requested you to cease your hostilities against Mexico. Well, time passed, and we grew very friendly; everything went well. You came in here with your captives. Who were these captives? Mexicans—the very people we told you we were bound to protect. We took

them from you, and sent them to General Conde, who will set them at liberty in their own country. We mean to show you that we cannot lie. We promised protection to the Mexicans, and we gave it to them. We promised friendship and protection to you, and we will give it to you. If we had not done so to Mexico, you could not have believed us with regard to yourselves. We cannot lie.

“Ponce:—Yes, but you took our captives from us without beforehand cautioning us. We were ignorant of this promise to restore captives. They were made prisoners in lawful warfare. They belong to us. They are our property. Our people have also been made captives by the Mexicans. If we had known of this thing, we should not have come here. We should not have placed that confidence in you.

“Commissioner:—Our brother speaks angrily, and without due reflection. Boys and women lose their temper, but men reflect and argue, and he who has reason and justice on his side, wins. I have no doubt but that you have suffered much by the Mexicans. This is a question in which it is impossible for us to tell who is right, or who is wrong. You and the Mexicans accuse each other of being the aggressors. Our duty is to fulfill our promise to both. This opportunity enables us to show to Mexico that we mean what we say, and when the time comes, we will be ready and prompt to prove the good faith of our promises to you.

“Ponce:—I am neither a boy nor a squaw. I am a man and a brave. I speak with reflection. I know what I say. I speak of the wrongs we

have suffered and those you do us now. (Very much excited). You must not speak any more. Let some one else speak (addressing himself to Mr. Cremony, the interpreter).

“Commissioner:—I want you to understand that *I* am the very one to speak; the only one here who can speak (peremptorily). Now do *You* sit down. I will hold no more talk with you, but will select a *man* (beckoning to Delgadito). Do you come here and speak for your nation.

“Dalgadito:—Let my brother declare the mind of his people.

“Commissioner:—I wish to explain to our Apache brethren the reasons that have actuated us in this thing. We know that you have not done this thing secretly or in the dark. You came as braves in open day, and brought your captives amongst us. We are obliged to obey the orders of our great chief in Washington as much as you warriors are obliged to obey your commanders. The great chief of our nation says: ‘You must take all Mexican captives that you meet among the Apaches, and set them at liberty.’ Now this you must know we cannot disobey. For this reason we have taken your captives from you.

“Dalgadito:—We do not doubt the word of our brave white brethren. The Americans are braves, *we know it*; and we believe a brave scorns to lie. But the owner of these captives is a poor man; he cannot lose his captives, who were obtained at the risk of his life, and purchased by the blood of his relatives. He justly demands his captives. We are his friends, and we wish

to see this demand complied with. It is just, and as justice we demand it.

“Commissioner:—I will now tell my Apache brethren what can be done for them. The captives cannot be restored. The Commissioner cannot buy them, neither can any American buy them; but there is here in our employ a Mexican who is anxious to buy them, and restore them to their homes. We have no objection that this Mexican should do so; and if he is not rich enough, we will lend him the means.

“Dalgadito:—The owner does not wish to sell; he wants his captives.

“Commissioner:—I have already told my brother that this cannot be. I speak not with two tongues. Make up your minds.

“Dalgadito:—The owner wants twenty horses for them.

“Commissioner:—The Apache laughs at his white brother! He thinks him a squaw, and that he can play with him as with an arrow! Let the Apache say again.

“Dalgadito:—The brave who owns these captives does not wish to sell. He has had one of those (two) boys six years. He grew up under him. His heart-strings are bound around him. He is as a son to his old age. He speaks our language, and he cannot sell him. Money cannot buy affection. His heart cannot be sold. He taught him to string and shoot the bow and to wield the lance. He loves the boy, and cannot sell him.

“Commissioner:—We are sorry that this thing should be. We feel for our Apache brother, and would like to lighten his heart. But it is not

our fault. Our brother has fixed his affections on the child of his enemy. It is very noble. But our duty is stern. We cannot avoid it. It wounds our hearts to hurt our friends; but if it were our own children, and the duty and the law said, 'Part with them,' part with them we should. Let our Apache brother reflect, and name his price.

"Dalgadito:—What will you give?"

"Commissioner:—If my brother will come with me, I will show him.

"Here the council dissolved and repaired to the commissary's stores, attended by the Mexican purchaser, where goods to the amount of two hundred and fifty dollars were laid out, which they accepted, and thus the business was concluded."

In the meantime the boys had been sent by the Mexican Commissioner to Janos, the nearest military post in Mexico, from whence they were taken to their families.

CHAPTER XIII.

TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS (Continued).

KILLING OF AN INDIAN BY JESUS LOPEZ—RESTITUTION BY THE MURDERER—APACHES STEAL STOCK—DISCOVERY OF GOLD MINES—APACHES STEAL MORE STOCK—SHOOTING OF DALGADITO—HISTORY OF MANGUS COLORADO.

Another difficulty arose between the Commissioner and the Apaches upon the killing of an Apache by one of Bartlett's men, the Apaches contending with forcible logic and conclusive oratory, that the murderer should, then and there, be executed in their presence. Of this occurrence, Commissioner Bartlett gives the following account:

"About one o'clock word was brought to me, that an Indian had been shot by Jesus Lopez, the Mexican teamster to whom I have before alluded. I at once ran to my door, and saw the greatest consternation in the place. The Indians, of which there were many about us at the time, were screaming and running in all directions, as though fearful of a general rising and massacre of their people. Our own party, too, were in great alarm, and every man ran for his arms, not knowing but that the Indians, who had so often been treacherously dealt with by the whites, might at once attack us, to be revenged for the loss of their companion. Mangus Colorado, Dalgadito and Coletto Amarillo, who were in our camp, seized their arms, and, mounting animals, retreated to a small hill a few

hundred yards from the fort, where they stopped to see what was to follow, and make their escape in case of necessity. Many of their people crowded around them for protection and guidance. Some remained many minutes beckoning them to come back, and assuring them that they would not be hurt. They remained quiet until Colonel Craig, with the courage and determination which he exhibited in every trying scene, advanced alone toward them, told them he and all of us were still their friends, and invited them to the garrison where the man who had shot one of their people should be brought before them. They at once came forward; and while we all stood on the parade ground in front of the garrison, the prisoner was brought up with his feet in chains, by a file of the soldiers. We then passed into the quarters of Colonel Craig, for an examination of the case. On questioning the prisoner why he had shot the Indian, he made no reply, except to say that on returning from the Mimbres, some Indians he met had threatened to kill him; although he did not pretend to say that the man he had shot was the one.

“It appeared on examination, that Gordon, a cook, was the only person who witnessed the affair. He states that there was some dispute between Jesus and the Indian, about a whip, belonging to the latter, and which the former wished to buy. Jesus had the whip under his arm, and on failing to agree about it, the Indian attempted to pull it from him. The Mexican, becoming enraged, first picked up a stone, and then seized his rifle. He levelled it at the Indian, when scarcely beyond the reach of the

muzzle, and deliberately shot him down, the ball passing through his body just above the heart. Jesus ran to the Indian's horse which stood near the tent, intending to make his escape. Mr. J. B. Stewart, who was not far off, and heard the report, levelled his rifle, threatening to shoot him if he stirred. The fellow stopped, and the next moment was a prisoner. When these facts were made known to Mangus Colorado and the other chiefs present, they were satisfied that the Americans were in no way implicated in the affair, and that it was a private quarrel between a Mexican and an Indian. They were equally satisfied when assured that the prisoner should be kept in chains and punished if the man died; and the conference ended in good feeling. The chief, Ponce, made a long speech on the occasion, and said they 'all believed it the work of one bad man, and that the Commissioner had nothing to do with it. If the man died, they should require the punishment of the murderer. If he lived the Mexican should be compelled to labor, and the proceeds of it be given to the family of the wounded man, as a remuneration for the loss of his services.'

"The wounded man was taken to the hospital where he was attended by the surgeons of the Commission and the escort, and the best possible care taken of him. His wife and mother were in constant attendance, and his friends had access to him at all times. The chiefs were in daily, and expressed their satisfaction with my course. The poor man lingered for a month when he died. I ordered a coffin made for him, and intended having him decently buried; but

his friends, refusing both the coffin and burial, laid him across a mule, and carried him to their camp for interment, according to their own customs.

“The Indians now waited upon us in considerable numbers, accompanied by their chiefs, and demanded that the prisoner should be at once delivered into their hands. I told them that as the offense was committed in our territory, the man must be punished according to our laws. Most of the chiefs were assembled on this occasion, and presented a strange and picturesque appearance, as they were distributed about my quarters in various attitudes. Some standing, others sitting on benches, while the larger number adopted the common Indian position of sitting on their haunches with their knees drawn up before them, clasped by their hands. Had there been room to lie down, that posture would have been preferred. They came professedly as advocates of the woman’s cause, and would listen to nothing but the unconditional delivery of the murderer, preferring their demand with considerable eloquence. Three or four would start upon the same point together, and he who could talk the fastest would be allowed to go on with the subject. As in the former controversy with these people, the arguments between the chiefs and myself were taken down. I began by addressing them through Mr. John C. Cremony, the interpreter of the Commission, as follows:

“ ‘I feel sad, as well as all the Americans here, and sympathize with our Apache brothers for the death of one of their braves. We were all friends. The dead man was our friend, and we

regret his loss. I know that he had committed no offense; that he even did not provoke the attack upon him. But our Apache brothers must remember that it was not by the hand of an American that his death was caused. It was by a Mexican, though a man in the employ of the commission. For this reason, it is my duty to see justice done you, and the murderer punished.

“‘I am here, as I have told you, in command of the party engaged in making the dividing line between the United States the country of the Americans, and Mexico. I have explained this to you fully before, which you now understand. Beyond this, I have no powers. The great chief of the American people lives far, very far, towards the rising sun. From him I received my orders, and those orders I must obey. I cannot interfere in punishing any man, whether an Indian, a Mexican or an American. There is another great chief who lives at Santa Fe. He is the governor of all New Mexico. This great chief administers the laws of the Americans. He holds a court wherein all persons charged with crimes are judged. He alone can inflict punishment when a man has been found guilty. To this great chief, this governor, I will send the murderer of our Apache brother. He will try him, and, if found guilty, will have him punished according to American laws. Such is all I can do. Such is the disposition I will make of this man. It is all that I have a right to do.’

“Ponce,—This is all very good. The Apaches know that the Americans are their friends. The Apaches believe what the Americans say is true. They know that the Americans do not

speak with two tongues. They know that you have never told them a lie. They know that you will do what you say. But the Apaches will not be satisfied to know that the murderer is punished in Santa Fe. They want him punished here, at the Copper Mines, where the band of the dead brave may see him put to death—where all the Apaches may see him put to death (making the sign of being suspended by the neck). Then the Apaches will see and know that their American brothers will do justice to them.

“Commissioner,—I will propose another plan to the chiefs and captains of the Apaches. This plan is to keep the murderer in chains, as you now see him, to make him work, and to give all he earns to the wife and family of your dead brave. This I will see paid in blankets, in cotton, in beads, in corn, in money or in anything the family may want. I will give them all that is now due this man, and at the end of every month, I will give them twenty dollars more in money or in goods. When the cold season arrives, these women and children will then come in and receive their blankets and cloth to keep them warm, and corn to satisfy their hunger.

“Ponce,—You speak well. Your promises are fair. But money will not satisfy an Apache for the murder of a brave! No! thousands will not drown the grief of this poor woman for the loss of her son. Would money satisfy an American for the murder of his people? Would money pay you, Senor Commissioner, for the loss of your child? No! money will not bury your grief. It will not bury ours. The mother

of this brave demands the life of the murderer. Nothing else will satisfy her. She wants no money. She wants no goods. She wants no corn. Would money satisfy me, Ponce (at the same time striking his breast), for the death of my son? No! I would demand the life of the murderer. Then I would be satisfied. Then I would be willing to die myself. I would not wish to live and bear the grief which the loss of my son would cause me.

“Commissioner,—Your words are good and true. You speak with a heart full of feeling. I feel as you do. All the Americans feel as you do. Our hearts are sad at your loss. We mourn with this poor woman. We will do all that we can to assist her and her family. I know that neither money nor goods will pay for their loss. I do not want the Apache chiefs, my brothers, so to consider it. What I propose is for the good of this family. My wish is to make them comfortable. I desire to give them the aid of which they are deprived by the loss of their protector. If the prisoner’s life is taken, your desire for revenge is satisfied. Law and justice are satisfied. But this poor woman and her family get nothing. They remain poor. They have no one to labor for them. Will it not be better to provide for their wants?

“The chiefs now exchanged views with each other, all having more or less to say; when Ponce, their principal speaker, said they had all agreed to leave the matter entirely with the mother of the deceased, and that by her decision they would abide. She evidently desired the life of the prisoner. Her desire for revenge, or jus-

tice, was more to her than money or goods. The discussion was resumed.

“Ponce,—If an Apache should take the life of an American, would you not make war on us and take many Apache lives?

“Commissioner,—No, I would demand the arrest of the murderer, and would be satisfied to have him punished, as the Apaches punish those who commit murder. Did not a band of Apaches attack a small party of Americans, my countrymen, very lately on the Janos road? Did they not kill one of them, and pierce three others with their arrows? And did they not take from them all their property? Yes, you all know it to be true, and I know it to be true. I passed near the spot where it took place, three days after. The Apaches did not even bury their victim, they left him lying by the roadside, food for the wolves and crows. Why do not the Americans revenge themselves for this act? They are strong enough to do it. They have many soldiers, and in a few days can bring a thousand more here. But there would be no justice in that. The Americans believe that this murder was committed by your bad men, by cowards. The Apaches have bad men among them; but you who are now with us are our friends, and we will not demand redress of you. Yet, as I told you before, you must endeavor to find the man who killed our brother, and punish him. Our animals feed in your valleys; some of your bad men might steal them, as they have already done; but the Americans would not make war on you for this. We hold you responsible, and shall call on you to find them and

bring them back as you have done. While the Apaches continue to do this, the Americans will be their friends and brothers. But if the Apaches take their property and you do not restore it, you can no longer be the friends of the Americans. War will then follow; thousands of soldiers will take possession of your best lands, your grass valleys, and your watering places. They will destroy every Apache they find, and take your women and children captives.

“The discussion continued in this manner for two hours, the chiefs showing much sagacity in arguing their point. The matter was finally settled very much to my satisfaction and apparently to that of the Indians, by my paying to the mother of the deceased thirty dollars in money, that being the amount due the prisoner. I furthermore agreed to pay her twenty dollars a month, hereafter, the amount of the prisoner’s wages. Thus was terminated this unfortunate affair, which, at one time, seemed about to destroy the good understanding which had existed between the members of the Commission and our Indian friends.”

While the Indians apparently accepted the conclusions forced upon them by the Commission, yet it is a matter of fact that they did not feel themselves bound to comply with the conditions. In other words, it was a treaty accepted under duress, which the Commission paid dearly for, for the Indians stole from them several hundred head of very valuable animals, causing them much loss and delay. Delgadito, one of the chiefs who was present at these interviews, was the leader of the band which committed

these depredations, and the Commission was forced to leave, as soon as possible, the territory of the savage Apaches, for that occupied by the Pima and Maricopa tribes along the Gila River, and, in the subsequent treaty, known as the Gadsden treaty, the eleventh article of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, previously mentioned, was abrogated, our Government having learned, by that time, more of the mammoth task it had undertaken in agreeing to protect the frontier of Mexico against Apache incursions. Santa Ana, then dictator of Mexico, consented to the abrogation of this clause, and gave as his excuse to his countrymen, that he did not think or believe that the American Government ever intended to carry it out.

At this time gold mines were discovered a few miles from the camp of the Commission, a fact that threatened the existence of a permanent colony of Americans, which, together with the invasion of their country by the Survey Party, the recovery of Inez Gonzales and the two Mexican boys by the Americans and their restoration to their relatives, served to inflame the savage malevolence of the Apaches. All was quiet at the Copper Mines for some weeks, but toward the latter end of July, following, a number of mules belonging to the Commission, and for which Colonel Craig was responsible, could not be found, although the surrounding country was searched for thirty miles, and the conclusion was reached that they had been stolen by the Apaches. Colonel Craig, taking thirty soldiers, visited the camp of Delgadito on the Mimbres River. The Indians were much ex-

cited and disclaimed any participation in the robbery or any knowledge of the missing animals. They promised to hunt them up and restore them to Colonel Craig if found. Eight days after they kept their promise by making another raid upon the Colonel's herd of mules, and relieving him of the necessity of guarding some twenty-five of those animals, and some fine horses. Having nothing but infantry in his command, Colonel Craig invoked the aid of Capt. Buford's company of dragoons from Dona Ana. Soon after the arrival of that officer, another batch of animals disappeared in the same mysterious manner, and a joint scout of dragoons and mounted infantry started off to find the lost animals, and punish the robbers, if possible. The raid proved wholly ineffective; the animals were not discovered and the Indians were not punished, but during the absence of the force, word was brought that the Apaches had attacked the mining camp about three or four miles down the canyon, and were driving off the cattle. Lieutenant Whipple leading, about twenty of the Commission mounted their horses and gave immediate pursuit. The Indians were overhauled in a thick forest, and a party, consisting of about fifty warriors, stood ready for battle, while another detachment hurried on with the cattle. The Indians retreated as fast as possible, secreting themselves behind large pine trees, but at all times showing a bold and steady front. The pursuing party dismounted and, having been joined by Mr. Hay, the head miner, with four of his associates, left their horses in care of eight men, and took to the trees, keeping

up a lively fire behind their friendly shelter. All doubt as to the identity of the robbers was soon set at rest, for they, headed by Delgadito, who kept at a safe distance, poured out torrents of violent abuse upon the Americans. Delgadito, only two nights before, had slept in the tent of one of the officers, and had then received from him a good shirt and a pair of shoes.

The Commission was furnished with several styles of newly patented arms, among these some Wesson rifles, which could throw a ball a distance of four hundred yards with comparative accuracy, at that time a remarkable distance. Among the party was Wells, the Commissioner's carriage driver, a good shot, brave and cool. Captain Cremony, who owned one of these Wesson rifles, pointed out Delgadito to Wells, handing him the rifle, and told him to approach as near as possible, take good aim, and bring the rascal down. Wells slipped from tree to tree with great caution and rapidity until he was within two hundred and sixty yards of Delgadito, who, at that moment was slapping his buttocks and defying the Americans in the most opprobrious language, a favorite taunt among the Apaches. He uncovered his posteriors to Wells, who, taking deliberate aim, fired. The ball reached its mark and Delgadito, with an unearthly yell, and a series of dances and capers previously unknown to the Apache ballet, being recalled to the consciousness of his exposed position by the whizzing of several more balls in close proximity to his upper end, ceased his salutatory exercises, and rushed frantically through a thick copse, followed by his band.

The command started back for their horses, remounted and again pressed forward in pursuit. In a quarter of an hour they had passed through the woods and opened upon the plain, over which the Apaches were scouring in hot haste. The pursuit lasted for thirty miles, and at sundown the pursuing party came upon the cattle, which had been abandoned by the Indians. Further pursuit being deemed useless, the herd of cattle was driven back and restored to its owner. It was afterwards learned that Wells' shot gouged a neat streak across that portion of Delgadito's person, known among school boys as the "seat of honor," which impaired his general activity for several weeks.

This celebrated Apache was killed about two years later by a Mexican whom he was seeking to destroy. They were fording the Mimbres river on foot, and upon reaching the eastern bank, Delgadito caught hold of the projecting branches of a tree to assist himself, when the Mexican, taking advantage of his momentary neglect, plunged a knife through the Indian's heart from behind. The body of the savage was found the next day clinging to the branch. (From Cremony's "Life Among the Apaches.")

Mangus Colorado, or Red Sleeves, whom we now meet for the first time in this history, will appear quite often in subsequent pages, and a brief outline of the man as he appeared to one who knew him well, may not be out of place at this time. He was the King Phillip of the Apache nation. He understood the value of collective forces, and his influence extended from the Mimbres river in New Mexico to the Colo-

rado, and no other warrior, at that time, could gather together such a large force of savages under one command. He possessed a powerful frame with iron sinews and muscles, and was gifted with an extraordinary amount of brain strength. Like other Apache chiefs, he fought his way to the top, through his genius, diplomacy and courage. His wonderful resources, his extraordinary ability in planning campaigns, his wise teachings and counsel, surrounded him with a large and influential band, which gave him a prominence among the different branches of his tribe. He was a power in Arizona and New Mexico. He never assumed authority not delegated to him. He never spoke as one having authority, but invariably said he would use his influence to perform certain engagements entered into. In one of his raids into Sonora, he carried off a handsome Mexican girl, whom he made his wife to the exclusion of his Apache squaws. This favoritism led to trouble in the tribe for a short time, but was suddenly ended by Mangus challenging to mortal combat any of the relatives or brothers of the discarded wives, according to the unwritten laws of his tribe. The wager was accepted by two of the relatives, and both were killed in fair duel. This Mexican wife bore to Mangus Colorado three really beautiful daughters, and through his diplomatic ability, exercising that statesmanship which prevailed in Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries, he married one to the chief of the Navajoes, another to the leading man of the Mescalero Apaches, and the third to the war chief of the Coyoteros, and, by so doing, ac-

quired influence in those tribes, to such an extent that he could have their assistance in his raids whenever it was desired. He is described as a man of about six feet in height, with an enormously large head, broad and bold forehead, an aquiline nose, capacious mouth and broad heavy chin; his eyes rather small, flashing with great brilliancy under any excitement, although his outside demeanor was inexpressible as brass. He held Arizona and New Mexico under his dominion; he ravaged cities and towns in northern Chihuahua and Sonora, and destroyed large ranches teaming with cattle, horses and mules. Over a country three times as large as California, he held absolute dominion. Cruel, treacherous and revengeful, the record of his barbarities upon Mexicans and Americans would fill a volume. Not a man of extraordinary courage, yet he was so subtle in all his machinations as to compel admiration from his worst enemies. Had he lived under different environments; been an educated American; there is hardly a doubt but what he would have attained eminence among another race as he did among his own.

CHAPTER XIV.

EARLY AMERICAN OCCUPATION.

TUCSON—INDIAN RAIDS—POPULATION OF TUCSON AND TUBAC—ROUTE OF GOLD SEEKERS—FIRST AMERICAN CHILD BORN IN ARIZONA—FERRY ACROSS COLORADO—MASSACRE OF GLANTON PARTY—FERRY RE-ESTABLISHED BY JAEGER AND HARTSHORNE—MAJOR HEINTZELMAN—DR. WEBB'S ENCOUNTER WITH INDIANS—FORT YUMA—ADVENTURE OF L. J. F. JAEGER—SCHOONER "INVINCIBLE" WITH TROOPS AND SUPPLIES REACHES MOUTH OF COLORADO—NAVIGATION OF COLORADO—SCHOONER SIERRA NEVADA—FIRST STEAMER "UNCLE SAM"—COLORADO CITY, AFTERWARDS ARIZONA CITY, THEN YUMA, ESTABLISHED—YUMA INDIANS.

At the time of which we are writing, 1849, Tucson was a part of Sonora, and the Government maintained only a precarious possession of that town. Continued raiding of the Apaches, driving off their livestock, made life in the Old Pueblo one of constant annoyance and danger. Retaliatory raids by the soldiers became less frequent, and although the Papago allies were somewhat more successful in repelling and pursuing the savages, there was a constant diminution of population. The census report of September, 1848, gave Tucson 760 inhabitants and Tubac 249. In December of that year after an attack in which 9 persons were killed, Tubac and Tumacacori were abandoned, the people

transferring their residence to Tucson. "Between this presidio and that of Santa Cruz south of the line" says Bancroft, "it does not clearly appear that a single Mexican establishment of any kind remained, though before 1852, a small garrison had reoccupied Tubac."

After the discovery of gold in California in 1848, immigrants began to flock through Arizona from Sonora and other Mexican states, and from the eastern United States. The route usually followed was by the Santa Cruz and Gila Valleys, and the Americans reached Tucson from the Rio Grande, for the most part by Cooke's wagon route of 1846. It was a journey of much hardship and dangerous on account of drought and lack of water and grass for the stock. For this reason, it was not recommended by Kit Carson and other frontiersmen. The Maricopa villages were the last friendly shelter to the emigrants before reaching the Colorado River, where, in the fall of 1849, Lieut. Cave J. Coutts, in command of an escort to the Boundary Surveyors under Whipple, established Camp Calhoun on the California side, and for two months aided the hungry gold seekers, whose arrival was noted almost every day.

On the first of November, 1849, a flatboat, which had made the voyage down the Gila from the Pima villages, with Mr. Howard and family, and two men, a doctor and a clergyman, on board, arrived at the camp. During this voyage a son was born to Mrs. Howard, said to have been the first child born in Arizona of American parentage. The Lieutenant, it is said, purchased the craft, which was used as a ferryboat during the

remainder of his stay, and was transported to San Diego where it was used on the bay. "This," says Bancroft, "was the history of the first Colorado ferry."

There is some doubt as to the exact year in which Dr. Langdon established his ferry across the Colorado, whether it was late in the year 1849, or early in the year 1850. Bancroft says it is the latter date, but other authorities claim that it was in the previous year, 1849. The money for the establishment of this ferry was furnished by J. P. Brodie, an American gentleman then a resident of Hermosillo, who retained an interest in it. Prior to its establishment the Indians aided the emigrants in crossing with their livestock and other property, having, in some way, secured a scow for this purpose. In disregard of their rights, the Americans occupied the field. They established a stockade on the California side, which they called Fort Defiance, and which became the scene of a massacre by the Yumas the following year. Dr. Langdon, who seems to have had charge of this ferry, associated with himself one John Glanton, or Gallantin, who seems to have been the head of a band of outlaws who had been employed by the Mexican Government to gather Apache scalps at one hundred dollars for each brave, fifty dollars for each woman, and twenty-five dollars for each child. The business seems to have been lucrative, so far as they were concerned, for the Glanton party did not confine itself to gathering the scalps of the Apaches, but took those of the Opatas and Pimas, and sometimes of the Mexicans. This being discovered

by the authorities, they were compelled to leave the country.

There seems at this time to have been an opposition ferry. Glanton killed its manager and in this way controlled the business of transportation across the Colorado. He exacted heavy tribute from all immigrants, amounting to extortion, and disregarded in every particular the rights of the Indians, who rose in rebellion and killed all his party, some twenty-five in number, excepting C. O. Brown, who afterwards became prominent as one of the early settlers of Tucson, one Anderson and another whose name is not mentioned. According to Bartlett, the money which the Glanton party had accumulated, somewhere from fifteen thousand to thirty thousand dollars in gold, was taken by the Indians, who used it in purchasing supplies from the immigrants, and, not knowing its value, frequently gave four or five doubloons for a wornout blanket, and a gold eagle for a tattered shirt.

There is much confusion in regard to the Glanton affair. Cremony and some other authors claim that he and his party were in charge of a large flock of sheep which they had purchased in New Mexico and were driving to California, and were murdered by the Yumas upon their arrival at the Colorado River. All the evidence in reference to the Glanton party is hearsay, but the weight of evidence seems to be that Glanton and his party were not incumbered with any great amount of livestock, and that he engaged with Dr. Langdon in ferrying emigrants across the Colorado as I have stated above.

Shortly thereafter, in July, 1850, Jaeger and Hartshorne headed a party who re-established



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the ferry, and built their boat on the ground from wood secured from the cottonwood trees growing there. Major Heintzelman, then in charge of the army post at San Diego, established a military post there and left ten men under Lieutenant Sweeney, and the soldiers and ferrymen all occupied the stockade which had been erected by the Glanton party. Jaeger and Hartshorne did a profitable business for several months. Supplies becoming short, however, Jaeger went to San Diego, and, returning with one Mexican with several mule loads of provisions, was attacked by the Indians within sight of the stockade. The Mexican deserted him and Jaeger applied his spurs to his horse, which dashed into the stockade carrying its rider, who was badly wounded by spears and arrows, remaining unconscious for several days. That night the party deserted the post and carried Jaeger with them into San Diego, where the arrow points were extracted and he, under proper medical treatment, was restored to health.

Within a few days after this occurrence, Dr. Webb, in charge of an exploring party belonging to the Boundary Survey, encountered some Indians, the story of which encounter and the events following are told by Captain Cremony in the following language:

“Early next morning, we resumed our journey down the Gila, and prosecuted it for several days until we reached the Colorado near its junction with the Gila. At that period the whole country was a wilderness, and the place now occupied by large houses and well-filled stores, with an American population of six or seven hundred

souls, was waste and desolate. The approach to the river was hidden by a dense mass of young willow trees, through which we had to pass in order to reach water, of which ourselves and animals were greatly in need. The thermometer stood at 118 degrees Fahrenheit, in the shade, and we had marched twenty-four miles that day without water. On emerging from the willows on the banks of the broad, red, swift and turbid stream which met our gaze, we discovered, on the opposite side, within easy rifle reach, a large number of Yuma men, women and children, a fact which assured us that our approach had not been known by that tribe. They instantly fled in all directions, thereby proving their fear and suspicions, which would not have been entertained if the two people had been at peace with each other. Having watered our suffering animals, we pursued our way down the Colorado, and encamped upon an open sand beach, with three hundred yards of clear ground in the rear and the river in front. No weapon in possession of the Yumas could reach anything like that distance, while our rifles commanded the whole area. Our animals were drawn up in line on the river side with a careful guard, and were fed with an abundance of young willow tops, which they ate greedily. Our fires were well supplied, and kept blazing brightly, so as to shed light on the surrounding shore and disclose the approach of any enemy. In this manner we passed an anxious night.

“The next day, soon after dawn, an Indian presented himself unarmed, and with reiterated statements of the most cordial friendship for

the Americans. He subsequently proved to be Caballo en Pelo, or the 'Naked Horse,' the head chief of the Yumas. Our reception was not calculated to excite his hopes, everyone extending his left hand, and keeping a revolver in his right, and it was not long before Caballo en Pelo found that he had committed himself to the tender mercies of men who entertained the deepest suspicion of his professional amity. To test his sincerity, Dr. Webb asked what had become of the soldiers, to which he replied that they had voluntarily withdrawn three months before. This we knew to be a lie, as Gen. Conde had informed us of their presence with a couple of good launches to assist the crossing of immigrants, and we had met the General only twenty days previous, when this information was received from him, who had come directly from the Colorado in eleven days. The report of our Maricopa visitors also disproved the statement of Caballo en Pelo, and we immediately consulted together as to our future course, which was afterward carried into effect, as the reader will discover, and to it I attribute our escape from the treacherous Yumas.

* * * * *

"Soon after Caballo en Pelo, or the 'Naked Horse' entered our camp, he made a signal to his associates, and we soon had an accession of fourteen more, embracing several of the principal men in the Yuma tribe. They were all unarmed, and each one expressed his desire to maintain friendly relations with our people. Dr. Webb, with his usual blunt honesty of character, and total neglect of policy, abruptly asked

them—‘If you mean as you profess, why did you drive away the small body of soldiers left here to assist the Americans in crossing the river and supplying their needs, and, why did you massacre the American party with sheep, who came here on their road to California?’ These unexpected questions discomfited the savages, and threw them ‘all aback,’ as may readily be supposed. Caballo en Pelo, Pasqual, and several other leading men, undertook to deny these charges in toto, but we were too well informed, and their denials only tended to put us more than ever on the *qui vive*.

“A few words interchanged between the members of our party decided our course of action. In any case we were fully committed, and nothing but perilous measures could decide the result of our desperate surroundings. It was determined to hold all the Yumas present as captives, subject to instant death upon the exhibition of any hostility on the part of that tribe. We felt that our lives were at the mercy of those savages, but also resolved that we should not be sacrificed without a corresponding amount of satisfaction. Their principal men were in our camp unarmed; we had the disposal of their lives in our power, and knew that they could not escape in the event of any hostile act against our small party. These deliberations were fully unfolded to the chiefs, who were informed that no more of their tribe would be admitted into our camp without jeopardizing the safety of those already there. They were also told that having come of their own free will, they would be expected to remain during our pleasure, and, in

the meantime, would be fed from our very limited resources. They were furthermore informed that the launch which they had taken from the soldiers would be needed for our conveyance across the Colorado, and as we knew it to be in their possession, it must be forthcoming when required. The first act of Caballo en Pelo was to signalize his people not to approach our camp, which was located on a sand-spit, with three hundred yards clear rifle range on all sides not covered by the river. He then went on to disclaim any inimical design, quoting the fact that he and his chief men had sought us unarmed, when they might have overwhelmed our paltry force with hundreds of warriors. He also stated that they had no hostile feeling toward white men coming from the east, but would oppose all from the west, as they had learned that a force from that quarter was being prepared for a campaign against them. They were not at war with Americans generally, but solely with those whom they expected from California with warlike intentions. Caballo en Pelo then asked if he and his companions were to consider themselves prisoners. To this home question, Dr. Webb, who was in charge of our party, directed me to answer—yes, they were; and would be held as such until the launches they had taken from the soldiers were produced for our passage across the Colorado, and they had given satisfactory evidence of their peaceful intentions. This abrupt announcement was not pleasing to our savage guests, who exhibited alarm, mingled with half-uttered threats, of vengeance; but the old motto, ‘in for a penny,

in for a pound,' was the only one we could adopt under the circumstances, and our resolution was as unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians.

"Dr. Webb furthermore informed the Yumas that they must order their warriors, who were gathering thickly on our side of the river, not to approach within three hundred yards, adding, 'we suspect your motives, and intend to have the first blood, if any is to be shed. Your chief men are in our power. Your people can kill us, as they are so much more numerous, but we will kill you first, if they do not obey our orders which shall be promulgated through you.'

"This was undoubtedly the 'tightest fix,' our visitors were ever in. They were by no means prepared for such a decided stand, and were quite at a loss for expedient. Seeing resolution in each man's eye, and knowing that it was our determination to put them to death the moment any decidedly hostile step should be taken by their people, they concluded to make the best of a bad bargain, and escape by strategy from the trap they had prepared to spring upon us, but in which they had caught themselves.

"Caballo en Pelo made a few signs to the surrounding and anxious multitude, which then quietly retreated out of sight among the dense willows which grew with remarkable luxuriance about three hundred yards from the river. We then dug two holes about twenty feet apart, parallel to each other, and each about five feet long by one and a half wide and two deep. In these holes we made blazing fires which rose about two or three feet above the surface of the

ground, and between these two fires we ordered the Yumas to lie down, side by side, while a sentinel with a cocked six-shooter paraded along the line of their heads, and another along the line of their feet. A flank escape was impossible, as it was prevented by a bright and hot fire on each side. Our few remaining animals were drawn up in line on the river side of the camp, with a guard outside of them and within twenty feet of the whole party. We slept but little that night, and at early dawn we were once more afoot, and in discussion with the Yumas, who stoutly denied any hostile motive, and professed indignation at their treatment. We gave them a good breakfast, as we had given them a plentiful supper the evening previous, and then reiterated our demand for the launches, while they as stubbornly denied any knowledge of their existence.

“That day we moved down the river about eleven miles and selected a good camp ground early in the afternoon. Again we were surrounded by hundreds of Indians, but the personal fears of our hostages kept them at bay, and they did not approach nearer than three hundred yards. The night passed as the previous one had done, and we perceived that it was the intention of the Yumas to wear us out, and then seize their opportunity; but this scheme was frustrated by the nerve and decision of Dr. Webb, who, next morning, informed Caballo en Pelo and his chief followers, that ‘we were well aware of the existence of the launches by oral as well as written intelligence; that they were absolutely necessary to cross the Colorado; that we

knew the Yumas had driven away the small garrison of American soldiers and had the launches in their possession; that we had met the escaped Maricopas, who told us all about the massacre of Gallantin and his party, and the appropriation of the launches by the Yumas; and, finally, that if those launches were not forthcoming by twelve o'clock the next day, we should at once proceed to extremities and kill him and all the Yumas in our camp.'

"It may well be supposed that this sort of talk aroused the liveliest alarm among our prisoners, who commenced an excited conversation in their own tongue, which culminated in a request from Caballo en Pelo that one of his young men be permitted to leave our camp and make inquiry if the launches really were in existence, and, if so, to bring them down river to our camp. This was agreed to, and a young lad, about eighteen years of age, the son of Pasqual, selected for the business. He was allowed to depart with the positive assurance that we would keep our words in regard to his father, and the other head men of the Yuma tribe in our camp.

"That night we observed more than the usual precautions, for one half our number were on guard at all times. Next morning no Indians were to be seen, but at ten o'clock A. M. a large launch, capable of holding half our party with their baggage, was seen approaching under the conduct of two Yumas. It was moored in front of our camp, and immediate preparations were made for crossing. Five of us, taking half the Yuma prisoners, immediately embarked with rifles in hand, ready for use, and as we could

easily sweep both sides the river, our party was really as strong as ever. Our mules and horses were made to swim across under the lead and direction of two Yumas, who were kept within range of our rifles, and in this manner we succeeded in gaining the western bank of the Colorado, after three most exciting days of detention against overwhelming numbers of hostile savages; but our troubles were not yet ended. We had still to undergo another ordeal, even more perilous, because we had no hostages as securities for our safety from attack.

“Having gained the western bank of the Colorado in peace, the Yumas demanded to be released from captivity, but our safety would not permit such a course, and Dr. Webb informed them that they must remain in camp that night and would be set free next day. The utmost precaution was again observed throughout the night, and at three o'clock next morning we were once more en route toward California, accompanied by the leading Yumas, who were kept closely guarded. That day we penetrated twenty-eight miles into the great Colorado desert, halting about four o'clock P. M., in a place where neither water nor wood existed, and completely surrounded by hills and banks of white sand. With much toil several of our number ascended one or two of the highest hillocks, but as far as the eye could reach nothing was to be seen but one unbroken expanse of sand, white, dazzling under the rays of a burning sun, unrelieved by a single bush or shrub—broken and fretted with countless hillocks, and utterly void of animal life. This part of the

Colorado desert is much more frightful than the great Sahara of Africa. The absolute stillness and repose is something awful; it is death in life; it is the most impressive lesson of man's feebleness, and the most startling reproof against his vanity. In our case these sensations were not mitigated by the knowledge of being surrounded by a fierce, warlike and numerous Indian tribe, thirsting for our blood, and eager to revenge the indignity they had suffered by the captivity of their head chiefs, and the failure of their treacherous schemes.

“As before stated, we halted and made preparations as if to encamp. Dr. Webb then directed Mr. Thurber to ascend the highest sand hill in the neighborhood, examine all around with his field glasses and report if the Indians were upon our trail. In about half an hour Mr. Thurber returned, and assured us that from two to three hundred Yumas were within five miles of our position, and heading toward our camp. There was no time to lose. Caballo en Pelo with his fellow captives were immediately informed that they must take the back trail and return to the river, that our road was toward the west, that we had no more provisions to give them, and that it was indispensable for us to part company with them then and there. To these requirements the wily chief demurred, and stated his desire to go on with us to California. He was overruled, by the strong persuasive force of drawing our pistols, and giving him the sole alternative of obeying or dying. They chose the former, and decamped with haste. So soon as they disappeared around the

base of a friendly sand hill, we immediately repacked our wagon, and drove on with all possible speed, hoping to escape in the fast coming darkness.

“Eleven years afterward, Pasqual himself told me that they met about three hundred of their warriors half an hour after being expelled from our camp, and the whole band came in pursuit of us, but as the Indian never risks life when he thinks the same end can be accomplished by strategy, and as time is of no moment to them, it was agreed to fall foul of us just before daylight the next morning, and by a rapid and combined assault massacre our little party with comparative ease and impunity. Acting on that policy, they approached our abandoned camp with extreme caution, and commenced a survey from surrounding hillocks. They were not surprised to see no fire, as they knew there was no wood in that part of the desert, and they remained quiescent until nearly morning, when their scouts gave them the unwelcome information that we were gone.

“Our flight was continued all night and part of the next day, until, overtaken by one of those dreadful sandstorms which prevail on the Colorado desert. The day was intensely hot, and the most impressive silence seemed to reign absolute. Suddenly a dark, dense and singular-looking cloud arose in the west and moved toward us with incredible velocity. Great masses of heavy sand were lifted as if they were so many feathers, and carried high into the air with extreme violence. The places formerly occupied by huge hillocks containing many thou-

sand tons of sand, were swept clean as if by magic in a few moments, and the vast banks removed to other localities in the twinkling of an eye. Our mules fell flat upon their bellies and thrust their noses close to the ground, our horses followed their example—none of us could stand against the force and might of the storm—and we, too, laid down flat, hauling a tent over us. In a few moments the tent was so deeply covered with sand as to retain its position, and every now and then we were compelled to remove the swiftly gathering mass, to avoid being absolutely buried alive. Amidst the distress, the horrible sensations, and the suffocating feelings occasioned by this sirocco, we entertained the grateful sense of protection from our savage pursuers, who were quite as incapable of facing that terrific storm as we were. For forty-eight hours we had not tasted food, and were more than a day without water in the hottest climate known to man, and our distress heightened by the intense craving for water invariably attendant on those scorching blasts of the desert. These sensations were not alleviated by the fact of knowing that we had yet a journey of forty miles before we could find water.

“About three o’clock P. M., the storm passed off, and we instantly resumed our way without cooking food, for eating could only add to our terrible thirst. All that night our weary feet trod that infernal desert until the glowing morning sun shone upon us like a plate of molten brass, but we had arrived at a fine camp ground, thickly supplied with shady mesquit trees and abounding with excellent grass for our wornout

animals, which had dwindled down to less than one half the number we boasted before crossing the Colorado. About an hour after camping, the stepfather of Inez (Inez Gonzales, whose rescue from Apaches has been noted), who served us as guide, reported that he saw an alamo (cottonwood), tree a short distance off, and he believed that there must be water in its neighborhood. Several of us proceeded to the spot and in a short time discovered a small pool containing about twenty gallons of water deposited in a hollow by a former copious rain, and sheltered from the sun by friendly brush. The joyful news was soon made known to the rest of our comrades, and our raging thirst slaked, after which the remainder of the water was equally divided among our famished stock. As Carisso creek was then within a day's march, no thought was taken for the morrow, and after a most refreshing night's rest, we recommenced our journey at early dawn, reaching Carisso creek about five o'clock on the afternoon of the same day. At this place we felt ourselves wholly safe from the Yumas. There was abundance of pasture, and water and wood, and we would have remained for a day or two to obtain much needed rest, but our provisions had entirely given out, and we had still one hundred miles of travel before us without an ounce of food, unless such as might possibly be procured in the way of game.

“With sad hearts, and weakened frames, we pushed forward until we reached Vallecito, where we found an American garrison consisting of a company of infantry and three officers.

By these warm hearted and gallant gentlemen we were received with the greatest courtesy and kindness and entertained by them with a warmth of hospitality which has found an abiding place among my most grateful recollections. Some time had elapsed since supplies were received from San Diego, and they were themselves on 'short commons,' and unable to furnish us with the provisions needed to complete our journey; but gave us freely to the extent of their power. It would have been gross ingratitude to remain there, living upon the very diminished stores of our kind entertainers, and we again pushed forward the next day. Our course lay over the Volcan mountain, and upon its magnificent height we found a rancho owned and inhabited by a big hearted gentleman, who ministered to our wants and furnished us with two fresh mules. Next day we resumed our march, and soon after passing the old battle ground of San Pasqual, met Col. Heintzelman, in command of three hundred troops, on his way to chastise the Yuma Indians for their many murders and robberies. The officers were surprised to meet us coming from the river, and asked many questions, which we were delighted to answer, giving valuable information.

"Col. Heintzelman's force was subsequently increased to five hundred men, and after two years' active warfare he succeeded in reducing the Yumas, who have never since presumed to contend against our power. Since then Fort Yuma has become a noted frontier fortification, surrounded by many hundreds of American citizens, who live, for the most part, on the east-

ern bank of the river, and carry on a lucrative trade with the interior of Arizona and the Yumas, Cocopahs, Cuchans, Amojaves and other tribes. The waters of the Colorado are now plowed by half a dozen steamers, and my old enemies, the Yumas, do the 'chores' and menial offices for the whites. The next day after meeting Col. Heintzelman, we reached San Diego, devoutly thankful to Providence for our many and almost miraculous escapes from the tomahawks and scalping knives of the Indian tribes through which we had passed for the distance of two thousand eight hundred miles."

In the spring of 1852, after the Jaeger party had been driven out of Yuma, Major Heintzelman, in command of six companies of United States soldiers, re-established the post at Fort Yuma, and waged an incessant war upon the Indians, who sued for peace the year following, and have ever since remained at peace with the whites. Jaeger returned with these troops and re-established his ferry. From that time on he was a prominent resident of Yuma, and figured largely in the subsequent history of Arizona for many years.

About the time of the re-establishment of Fort Yuma and the ferry, or, to be more exact, in 1851, Captain Wilcox reached the mouth of the Colorado in a sailing vessel, the schooner "Invincible," with troops and supplies from San Francisco. The troops were commanded by Lieutenant Derby, who under the name of "John Phoenix," contributed largely to the humorous literature of that day, and who was ordered to explore the Colorado river from its mouth up.

The schooner drew from eight to nine feet of water, and only ascended the river some twenty-five miles, to about latitude $30^{\circ} 50'$, but Derby, in a boat, went some sixty miles further up the river, meeting Heintzelman and a party from Fort Yuma.

Of the navigation of the Colorado, Bancroft says: "It appears that also in the spring of 1851, George A. Johnson arrived at the river's mouth on the schooner *Sierra Nevada* with supplies for the fort, and lumber from which were built flatboats for the trip up the Colorado."

"In 1852," I again quote from Bancroft, "the first steamer, the '*Uncle Sam*' was brought by Captain Turnbull on a schooner to the head of the Gulf, and there put together for the river trip. She reached Fort Yuma at the beginning of December, but had been obliged to land her cargo of supplies some distance below. After running on the river for a year or two, the '*Uncle Sam*' grounded and sunk, being replaced in January, 1854, by the '*General Jesup*,' under Captain Johnson, the new contractor, but exploded in August. The '*Colorado*,' a stern-wheeler 120 feet long, was put on the route in the autumn of 1855, and from this time the steam navigation, with an occasional opposition line, seems to have been continuous."

Upon the re-establishment of the ferry by Jaeger, the tide of immigration again turned to the Colorado river under the protection of the fort. The village of Colorado City, on the California side, arose. It was afterwards called Arizona City, and its name subsequently changed to that of Yuma. The present site of Yuma was

not included within the limits of the United States until the Gadsden purchase in 1854. Colorado City was formally surveyed on the Arizona side in 1854, prior to which time there was no American settlement in Arizona.

From the journal of an expedition from San Diego, California, to the Rio Colorado in 1849, by Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, of the United States Topographical Engineers, I make the following extracts with reference to the Yuma Indians, or, as they were called at that time, the Cuchans. Of his first meeting with them, on September 29th, 1849, he says:

“Santiago, their chief, wore a blue greatcoat, and a fancy cotton handkerchief bound his head; his legs and feet were bare. Others were clad in the simple breechcloth. All were mounted on spirited horses. The road up the bank, to the left, is the emigrant trail over the deep, drifting sand of the desert. Taking the more circuitous route to the right, we were escorted by the Indians a short distance to their village in the cañada, luxuriant with maize and melons. We were at once surrounded by great numbers of Indian men and women, evincing friendliness, curiosity and intelligence. The women are generally fat, and their dress consists of a fringe, made of strips of bark, bound about the hips, and hanging loosely to the middle of the thighs. The men are large, muscular and well formed. Their countenances are pleasing, and seem lighted by intelligence. I doubt whether America can boast a finer race of Indians. Their warriors wear the white breechcloth, and their hair, hanging in plaits to the middle of their

backs, is adorned with eagle's feathers and the rattle of a rattlesnake. They are exquisite horsemen, and carry their bow and lance with inimitable grace. A dozen of these warriors conducted us beyond their village three miles, through fields of maize and groves of alamo and willow, to the Rio Colorado, where we encamped, twelve miles below where the Rio Gila unites its 'sea-green waters' with the rightly-named Colorado."

Again: "October 7, 1849—Took a walk into the villages to see how the Indians live. They all knew me, and received me kindly enough into their family circle, composed of about a dozen men, women and children, sitting or lying upon the ground, under the shade of a flat roof of branches of trees supported by posts at the four corners. The women, dressed in girdles of bark, stripped into thongs, and partially braided, hanging in a fringe to the thighs, and ornamented with many strings of shells or glass beads, were making a mush of zandias (water-melons), or grinding grass seed into flour. The men, with breech cloths, or perhaps a shirt cast off by the emigrants, were ornamented with rings in their noses and eagles' feathers in their hair. The children wore no covering except what nature gave them, but were decked with beads upon their necks, and small strings of the same were inserted through their ears.

"The laborious part of their toilet—that in which all their taste and skill are put in requisition—consists in painting. Warriors dye their faces jet black, with a stripe of red from the forehead down to the nose and across the chin.

Women and young men usually paint with red, and ornament their chins with dots or stripes of blue or black. Around their eyes are circles of black. Their bodies are generally of a dark red, and polished with an oily substance, so as to resemble well cleaned mahogany. The face and body are sometimes fancifully striped with black. Of their hair they are quite proud, and take great care in dressing and trimming it. It falls naturally from the crown of the head, and is neatly and squarely trimmed in front to reach the eyebrows; the rest is matted into plaits, and falls upon the neck, reaching nearly to the ground.

“Strings of broken shells, called ‘pook’ are highly valued among them. They consist of circular pieces of seashells, with holes very nicely drilled in the center. They are very ancient, and were formerly used as money. A string is now worth a horse. An Indian dandy is never dressed without them, and the number of strings worn indicates the wealth of the possessor. The figure of the young dandy, though large, is so faultless in its proportions that, when I have seen him dressed in his clean white breech-cloth, with no other covering to his carefully painted person, except the graceful plume upon his head, and the white bracelet of leather, with buckskin fringe and bright brass buttons, which serve as mirrors, upon his left arm, I could but applaud the scorn with which he looked upon European dress, and the resolute firmness with which he refused the proffered gift of pants.

“The Yumas (or, as those near the mouth of the Gila call themselves, Cuchans) appear to be

skilled in none of the arts. They have neither sheep, cattle nor poultry. Horses and a few pet lapdogs are the only domestic animals found at their ranches. The men are warriors, and occasionally fish and hunt. The women not only attend to their household duties, but also cultivate fields of maize and melons, and collect grass seed, which they pound to flour for bread."

CHAPTER XV.

INDIAN RAIDS AND OUTRAGES.

THE OATMAN MASSACRE—CAPTURE OF OLIVE AND MARY ANN OATMAN—DEATH OF MARY ANN OATMAN—EFFORTS OF LORENZO OATMAN AND HENRY GRINNELL TO RESCUE OATMAN GIRLS—RESCUE OF OLIVE OATMAN—MARICOPAS ATTACKED BY YUMAS AND MOHAVES—DEATH OF CHIEF FRANCISCO—DEATH OF OLIVE OATMAN.

During this time many outrages were committed by the Indians upon those emigrating into California, upon what is now Arizona soil, the most notable of which is known as the Oatman Massacre, which occurred at what is now known as "Oatman Flat," about a hundred miles east of Yuma. Royce Oatman with his wife and seven children, left Independence, Missouri, with a company of some fifty persons, in August 1850. Part of the company remained in Tucson, and the rest at the Pima Villages. Oatman left the latter place with his family in February, 1851, to make the trip alone down the Gila and into California. They were short of provisions and their cattle were in bad shape, consequently their progress was very slow. A man by the name of John Le Count who had passed over the road several times, told them that he had encountered no Indians, and considered the road safe, which probably was the reason why Royce Oatman undertook this perilous journey alone. The party encountered no Indians until after passing

what is now Gila Bend, and reaching the place now known as Oatman Flat. Here a party of Indians, nineteen in number, armed with clubs, bows and arrows, came into their camp, and demanded food. Oatman protested, saying that he would be robbing and starving his children if he gave the Indians food, but he finally gave them some bread. They asked for more, which he steadily refused. Retiring a short distance, they held a brief consultation, and then, with savage yells, set upon their victims. All of the Oatman party were killed with the exception of two daughters, Olive, aged 16, and Mary Ann, aged 10, and a son, Lorenzo, aged 14. The latter, being taken for dead by the savages, was thrown over an embankment twenty feet deep, and left for dead. Finally regaining consciousness, he found his way back to the Pima Villages and there joined an expedition into California. Olive and Mary Ann were held by their captors, the Tonto Apaches, for something over a year, when they were sold to the Mohaves. The price paid for them is said to have been two horses, a blanket or two, some vegetables and some beans. The youngest girl died while a captive among the Mohaves, and Olive remained with them in captivity for about five years.

In the meantime her brother, Lorenzo, using every means at his command, was endeavoring to rescue his sisters from their terrible fate. In October, 1854, he went to Los Angeles, intent upon this object. He joined several parties of prospectors to search for gold beyond the Colorado, and one of the parties penetrated the country bordering on Bill Williams' Fork in

1855, without getting any trace of the captive girls. In December of that year he searched through Southern California for them, but with no success. He then tried advertising in the newspapers, and in this way succeeded in arousing public sympathy, and learning that his sister, Olive, was reported to be a captive among the Mohaves, he preferred a petition to Governor Johnson of California, for men and means to recover her, which was signed by many people of Los Angeles County. The Governor replied that he had no authority to grant the request, and referred him to the Indian Department. He prepared a memorial to the Indian Department, and forwarded it in the month of February, 1856.

During this time a humanitarian was at work in his behalf and in that of his sisters. There came to Fort Yuma in 1853, one Henry Grinnell, a nephew of Henry Grinnell, the philanthropist who fitted out the Advance and Rescue for De Haven's search for Sir John Franklin's party in the Arctic Sea. Grinnell was an humble carpenter, but took a lively interest in the fate of the Oatman girls, and questioned emigrants and Indians alike for tidings of them. One night, in January, 1856, a friendly Indian, by name Francisco, came to him and asked him: "Carpenter, what is this you say so much about two Americans among the Indians?" Grinnell informed him that the Americans knew of two white girls who were captive among the Indians, and that unless they were surrendered, the whites would certainly make war upon the tribe. Pretending to read from a copy of the Los Angeles Star, in which

Lorenzo had made his first appeal for assistance, and translating as he read, he told Francisco that a large army was being prepared that would annihilate the Mohaves and all tribes that assisted them in concealing the captives. Francisco was much impressed. He remained in Grinnell's tent that night and the next morning Grinnell took him to Colonel Burke, the commander of the fort. Francisco said: "You give me four blankets and some beads, and I will bring her in just twenty days, when the sun is there," indicating about four o'clock in the afternoon. Colonel Burke thought it some trickery on the part of the savage, but Grinnell told Burke to give him the goods and charge them to him. The goods were furnished and Francisco departed.

The arrival of Francisco with his message to the Mohaves created no little consternation in their camp, and they ordered Francisco to leave and not to return under penalty of torture, but the Indian, after much persuasion and many powwows, succeeded in his mission. On the twentieth day, Grinnell, who, in the meantime, had been made the object of many jests by his comrades who believed that Francisco had cleverly worked upon his sympathies to the extent of the goods furnished him, was rewarded for his patience and faith in the Indian. At noon three Yumas appeared, and announced that Francisco was coming. "Is the girl with him?" asked Grinnell, eagerly. "Francisco will come when the sun is there," replied the Indians, indicating the point that Francisco had indicated, and no more satisfaction could be had from them. As the hour indicated approached, Grinnell, watch-

ing with strained eyes, caught sight of three Indian men and two women approaching the ferry on the opposite side of the river. "They have come," he cried, "the captive girl is here." Olive, not wishing to appear in public in her scanty bark dress, was quickly furnished with clothing by an officer's wife, and soon presented to the commander amid wild enthusiasm. Men cheered, cannon boomed, and the shrill whoops of the Yumas joined in the general acclamation of joy.

Two days after sending his memorial to the Indian Department, Lorenzo Oatman saw in the Los Angeles Star a brief statement of Olive's recovery. Hastening to the editor he was told the report was reliable, as it had been based upon a letter from Colonel Burke. A friend furnished him with transportation and accompanied him to Fort Yuma, which place he reached after ten days' riding across the Colorado desert. The brother and sister were united and clasped in a fond embrace. Strong men wept, but their tears brought to them no dishonor. Brother and sister returned to Los Angeles, and went thence to southern Oregon to live with an uncle who had heard of their trials, and invited them to share his home. Afterwards they attended school in Santa Clara Valley in California, and, in 1858, removed to New York. Francisco, the Indian, being held in high esteem by the whites, was made chief of their tribe by the Yumas. He was known thereafter as El Sol Francisco, was arrogant in his new station, but was always friendly thereafter with the whites.

In 1857, the Yumas and Mohaves organized a joint expedition against the Maricopas. They raised a large band and attacked the Maricopa villages about the first of September. They burned some houses, and killed some women and children, which was speedily avenged. The Pimas and Maricopas were reinforced by the Papagoes until their numbers were equal to those of the invaders. At Maricopa Wells, about four miles west of the present station of Maricopa, on the Southern Pacific, they fought a great battle, in which the Yumas were defeated with the loss of over two hundred warriors. Out of the Yuma warriors only three returned alive. Francisco fell in this fight, killed, it is said, by his own men who thought he had brought disaster upon them by defending the whites.

Olive Oatman, it is said, died in an insane asylum in New York before or during the year 1877.

CHAPTER XVI.

SURVEYS FOR RAILROADS AND OTHER PURPOSES.

THOMAS H. BENTON — SURVEY BY BOUNDARY COMMISSIONER BARTLETT — RECONNAISSANCES BY CAPTAIN L. SITGREAVES—APPROPRIATIONS BY CONGRESS FOR SURVEYS — SURVEY BY LIEUTENANT A. W. WHIPPLE — RECONNAISSANCE BY LIEUTENANT J. G. PARKE—EXPLORATION AND SURVEY BY LIEUTENANT J. G. PARKE FOR A RAILROAD — EXPLORATION FOR LOCATION OF MINES — FIGHT WITH APACHES, DESCRIPTION BY CAPTAIN J. C. CREMONY — JAMES KENDRICK KILLED — JOHN WOLLASTON, JOHN H. MARBLE AND THEODORE HOUSTON WOUNDED.

As early as 1850, Thomas H. Benton, Missouri's great Senator, began an agitation in Congress for a Pacific railroad. It was due to him, probably, that Bartlett, in his survey of the Boundary line under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was instructed to make notes of the country over which he passed with a view of the possibilities of building a railroad over that route. By the 24th of December, 1851, this survey had been completed to within sixty miles of the Colorado, when it was suspended for want of supplies, and the explorers found their way to San Diego in January, 1852. Here they met Bartlett again, who, in the following May, with Lieut. Whipple and party, started for the Gila to complete the survey. An escort to the Pima

Villages was furnished them from the Fort Yuma garrison, and the journey through Arizona up the Gila and Santa Cruz Valleys was made between June 18th and July 24th, which completed the Boundary Survey. Bartlett's Personal Narrative gives a concise and excellent description of the country visited, with notes on its early history, the aborigines, and views illustrating its physical features, especially the ruins and other relics of an ancient civilization.

In 1851 an expedition under Captain L. Sitgreaves, United States Topographical Engineers, made a reconnaissance down the Zuni and Colorado rivers to Yuma. He was assisted by Lieut. J. G. Parke, Topographical Engineers, Mr. R. H. Kern, as topographer, and Dr. S. W. Woodhouse, surgeon and naturalist. The expedition consisted of about twenty persons, including packers and servants, pack mules being used for transportation of provisions, supplies, etc. The expedition was organized at Santa Fe, New Mexico, and the party accompanied an expedition against the Navajos as far as the Zuni, which point they reached by the usual road from Albuquerque, on the 1st of September, 1852.

"From this point, with an escort of thirty men from the Second Artillery, the exploring party travelled down the Zuni river to within ten miles of its mouth, when they left the river, and crossing a basaltic ridge, struck the Colorado Chiquito, down which they travelled until they were opposite the northern end of the San Francisco mountains. Here they left the river and travelled southwest, around the base of the

mountains, to Leroux Spring. Leaving this they passed around the southern base of Bill Williams' mountain, and thence pursued a course a little north of west, over a broken basaltic and barren country, to the head of Yampai (Yuma) creek. From this point they travelled westward to the Great Colorado, at the head of the Mohave valley; thence down the valley of the Colorado to Fort Yuma; and thence by the usual emigrant road over the Colorado desert, by Warner's pass, to San Diego, where the party was disbanded."

The report of this forms Senate Executive Document No. 59, second session of Thirty-second Congress, and is accompanied by a map of the routes pursued, on a scale of ten miles to an inch. The reconnaissance was made with a compass and estimated distances, and checked by astronomical observations made with a sextant.

In 1853, Congress appropriated \$150,000 for six surveys for a railroad across the continent, and in the following year, it made an appropriation of \$190,000 additional for this purpose. The most of these surveys were made to the north of Arizona, and do not concern us at this time. One, over the 35th parallel, practically the same route now followed by the Santa Fe Railway, demands our present attention.

Lieutenant A. W. Whipple made a survey over this route to the Pacific, the final report of which forms Volumes III and IV of the quarto edition of the Pacific Railroad Reports, Senate Executive Document No. 78; House Executive Document No. 91, second session of the Thirty-third Congress. It is accompanied by a topo-

graphical map in two sheets, drawn on a scale of fifteen miles to an inch, and a sheet of profiles on a horizontal scale of fifteen miles to an inch, and a vertical fifty times the horizontal. There are besides this a geological map and numerous illustrations, with a preliminary report which forms part of House Document No. 129, first session, Thirty-third Congress. Lieut. Whipple was assisted in this work by Lieut. J. C. Ives, Topographical Engineers; Dr. J. M. Bigelow, surgeon and botanist; Jules Marcou, geologist and mining engineer; Dr. C. B. Kennerley, physician and naturalist; A. H. Campbell, principal assistant railroad engineer; H. B. Molhausen, topographer and artist; Hugh Campbell, assistant astronomer; William White, Jr., assistant meteorological observer; Mr. George G. Garner, assistant astronomer; Mr. N. H. Hutton, assistant engineer; John P. Sherburne, assistant meteorological observer; and Mr. T. H. Parke, assistant astronomer and computer. They were provided with a portable transit, sextants, and chronometers, for astronomical observations, and with the other instruments needful for reconnaissances. They were escorted by a company of the Seventh Infantry, under Capt. J. M. Jones, and began the survey with a train of wagons. Lieut. Ives proceeded, with an astronomical transit and other instruments, from Washington, D. C., to Albuquerque, by way of San Antonio and El Paso, where he joined the party.

Lieutenant Whipple left Fort Smith July 13, 1853, and moved west along the northern base of the San Bois Mountains, to the south fork of the

Canadian river. Crossing this, the party followed its main branch, called Coal Creek, to its head; thence crossing Delaware Ridge, they struck the head of Boggy River. Re-crossing the Delaware Ridge, they passed along the heads of Walnut and Deer creeks, until, keeping at same distance south of the Canadian, and gradually diverging from it, they crossed a low divide and struck the waters of the False Washita River, at Gypsum Creek. Thence they travelled northwest, up the valley, for about sixty miles, when they passed over again to the Canadian. They then travelled along the valley of the Canadian river, by the emigrant road, to the Pecos, at Anton Chico. Here the party separated. Lieutenant Whipple, with a small number, followed the Pecos nearly to its head, crossed the Galisteo Pass on the west, and following down the creek of the same name, struck the Rio Grande del Norte at the Pueblo of San Domingo. Thence he travelled down the river to Albuquerque. The main party left Anton Chico, followed up the Cañon Blanco to Las Lagunas, thence southwesterly through the San Pedro Pass, at the southern end of the Zandia mountain, and thence down the San Antonio Creek to Albuquerque. Lieutenant Whipple remained encamped at this point a month; leaving there about the middle of November, 1853. While at Albuquerque, a reconnaissance was made of the river crossing at Isleta, about ten miles below. The escort was increased by twenty-five men, under Lieutenant J. C. Tidball, Second Artillery, and a considerable number of pack animals were added.

From Albuquerque, the expedition travelled southwest to the crossing of the Rio Puerco, thence up the San Jose or Santa Rita Valley to Covero. Soon after leaving Covero, a small party under Mr. Campbell explored a route up the North Fork of the Santa Rita to its head, thence through Campbell's Pass, in the Sierra Madre, to Fort Defiance and back to the main party at Zuni. The main party kept up the South Fork to its head, at the Agua Fria, thence crossing the Sierra Madre by a rugged pass, descended the slopes of that range to the Pueblo of Zuni.

From this point the exploration was continued westward to the Rio Puerco of the west, crossing it near Navajo Springs, and thence southward to the Colorado Chiquito, near the Junction of the Puerco with the former stream. After following the valley of the Colorado Chiquito for about forty miles, they struck west towards the San Francisco mountain, passing south of it. Continuing the westward course, which carried them north of Mount Bill Williams, and across the sources of some northern branches of the Gila river, they reached the source of Bill Williams' Fork, and travelled down the valley of this stream to its junction with the Colorado. They now travelled up the Colorado, through the Mohave Valley, and crossed the river in about latitude $34^{\circ} 50'$ north. Leaving the Colorado, they took a northwesterly course to Soda Lake. They then passed up the valley of the Mohave river, and through the Cajon Pass, to the rancho of Coco Mungo, and thence along the foot slopes of the Coast range to Los Angeles, where the survey terminated about the 25th of March, 1854.

In 1854 Lieutenant J. G. Parke, Topographical Engineers, made a reconnaissance for a railroad route between the Pima Villages and El Paso, the report of which forms a part of Volume II, quarto edition of the Pacific Railroad Reports, and is printed in House Executive Document No. 129, First session, Thirty-third Congress, which is accompanied by a map on a scale of five miles to an inch, and profile on the same horizontal scale, the vertical being one thousand feet to an inch.

Lieutenant Parke was assisted by Mr. H. Custer, Topographer, and Dr. A. L. Heerman, physician and naturalist, and provided with barometers, odometers, and compass. On the 24th of January, 1854, the party left San Diego. It consisted of twenty-three men, exclusive of an escort under Lieutenant Stoneman (afterwards General Stoneman) of twenty-eight dragoons.

In 1854-55 Lieutenant J. G. Parke, Topographical Engineers, assisted by Albert H. Campbell, civil engineer; Dr. Thomas Antisell, geologist; and Messrs. Custer and N. H. Hutton, topographers, made an exploration and survey for a railroad route from Benicia, California, to Fort Fillmore, New Mexico. The report of this exploration forms a part of Volume VIII of the quarto edition of the Pacific Railroad Reports, and is accompanied by two topographical maps.

On the 20th of November, 1854, they left Benicia with a party of about thirty persons, crossed the Straits of Carquinez to Martinez, and proceeded up the Arroyo de las Nueces to the head of the San Ramon valley. Turning south, they crossed the Coast range near the San

Jose mission, from which they travelled around the end of San Francisco bay to the Puebla de San Jose. They then turned up the San Jose Valley, crossed over the Gavilan range at the source of Pajaro river, and examined the passes in this vicinity.

A thorough examination was then made of all the mountain region between Point Conception and Fort Tejon in the Cañada de las Uvas; upon the termination of which the expedition proceeded to Los Angeles.

Lieutenant Parke's instructions requiring him to examine the sink of the Mohave and Soda Lakes, he proceeded to a favorable point near the Cajon Pass, where he formed a depot camp, whence, with pack mules, he made the examinations required, and then proceeded with all his party to San Diego, reaching it in April, 1854.

The party followed the emigrant road, via Warner's ranch and pass, and across the Colorado desert, to Fort Yuma; thence they travelled up the left bank of the Gila river to the Pima and Maricopa villages. Leaving this point, on the 16th of February, they turned southeast to the then Mexican towns of Tucson and San Xavier. Continuing southeastward, they passed through the Cienega de las Pimas to the Rio San Pedro, and travelled up that stream thirty or forty miles, thence striking over the hills, on the right bank, they entered the Chiricahui Mountains, at the Puerto del Dado, south of Dos Cabezas peaks; thence they travelled east, crossing the mountains on the eastern side of the Valle de Sauz, near the Gavilan Peak. Turning now to the northeast, they crossed the

next mountain range near the Pyramid Peak, and travelled east to the Ojo de Inez, near which they struck Cooke's wagon road, and followed it to Fort Fillmore. Lieutenant Parke returned from Fort Fillmore with a small party and examined a route direct between that place and Cooke's Spring. From Fort Fillmore, the party proceeded to El Paso, where the reconnaissance ended. This is practically the route of the Southern Pacific at the present day.

During the year 1852, the Boundary Commission having completed their labors and gone to San Diego, Captain Cremony, who had been attached to it as interpreter, was employed by a party of ten men, who had organized for the purpose of exploring a portion of Arizona, their object being to locate and exploit gold and silver mines. Captain Cremony was engaged by this expedition as interpreter and guide, at a salary of \$500 per month. After a tedious journey to the Colorado where, at that time, Major Heintzelman was conducting his campaign against the Yumas, the party was crossed by the guard in charge of the launch, and cautioned about the Yumas, who were supposed to be in force on the Gila about thirty miles from its junction with the Colorado, in consequence of which warning, they proceeded by night instead of by day, until they had passed the field occupied by the savages. The rumbling of their two wagons, and the alertness of the party, impressed the savages with the belief that they were an armed party stealing a march upon them, and they passed unmolested in the dark, arriving at Antelope Peak in their march from Fort Yuma.

Considering themselves comparatively safe from the Yumas, although exposed to visits from the Tonto Apaches, who, at that time, inhabited the northern side of the Gila from Antelope Peak to the Pima Villages, they became careless, not proceeding with that caution which, up to that time, they had exercised. The party was well armed, each person having two revolvers, a rifle, and a large knife, and felt themselves equal to four or five times their number in an open fight. Near what was afterwards known as Grinnell's Station, the road was covered from four to five inches deep with an impalpable dust, containing an abundance of alkali. Everyone who has had experience in Arizona knows that in this particular soil the lightest tread sends up clouds of dust far over the head, and a body of men, riding together in close column, are often so thoroughly enveloped, that they fail to recognize each other at a distance of only a few feet. The road, in places, passed through an extensive plain, entirely denuded of any verdure, so barren, in fact, that it would not afford shelter to a jack rabbit. The party had arrived at one of these wide openings, and were encased in a cloud of dust, so thick as to completely bar the vision of all except those who were in advance. No one expected an attack in so open and exposed and unsheltered a place, yet it was the very one selected by the Indians for such purpose. The savages knew that the whites would be on their guard in passing through a thick wood or a rocky canyon, and also judged that they might be careless while crossing an open plain, in which judgment they were right.

They were acquainted with the dusty character of the road, and, relying upon it to conceal their presence, had secreted themselves close to its edge, awaiting the approach of the whites, who were first notified of their presence by a sharp rattling volley that they received from their enemies at a distance of less than twenty yards. None of the party were killed or wounded, but they lost two mules and three horses by that fire. The dense dust prevented the Apaches from taking aim, and they fired too low. The order was given to alight and fight on foot. Nothing could be distinguished through the blinding dust. Shots were fired in the direction of the savages; now and then a dark body would be seen and made a target of. Each man threw himself on the ground; scarcely any one could tell where his companions were, so that each man was fighting independently of the others. While they lay prostrated, the dust settled somewhat, and they were about to obtain a good sight of the enemy, when John Wollaston cried out: "Up boys, they are making a rush." At the word, each man rose, and a hand to hand contest ensued. At this juncture the revolvers of the whites did good service. The dust rose in blinding clouds, stirred up by the tramping feet of the contending men. The white men were in as much danger of being shot by each other as by the savages. The rattle of pistol shots was heard on all sides, but the actors in the struggle were invisible.

Captain Cremony gives a description of his hand to hand fight with one of the Indians which

is about as thrilling as any of the stories of the West. He says:

“The last charge of my second pistol had been exhausted; my large knife lost in the thick dust on the road, and the only weapon left me was a small double-edged, but sharp and keen, dagger, with a black whalebone hilt, and about four inches long on the blade. I was just reloading a six-shooter, when a robust and athletic Apache, much heavier than myself, stood before me, not more than three feet off. He was naked, with the single exception of a breech cloth, and his person was oiled from head to foot. I was clothed in a green hunting frock, edged with black, a pair of green pants, trimmed with black welts, and a green broad-brimmed felt hat. The instant we met, he advanced upon me with a long and keen knife, with which he made a plunge at my breast. This attack was met by stopping his right wrist with my left hand, and at the same time I lunged my small dagger full at his abdomen. He caught my right wrist in his left hand, and for a couple of seconds—a long time under such circumstances—we stood regarding each other, my left hand holding his right above my head, and his left retaining my right on a level with his body. Feeling that he was greased, and that I had no certain hold, I tripped him with a sudden and violent pass of the right foot, which brought him to the ground, but in falling he seized and carried me down with him. In a moment the desperate savage gained the ascendant and planted himself firmly on my person, with his right knee on my left arm, confining it closely, and his left arm pinioning my right to the ground, while his right arm

was free. I was completely at his mercy. His personal strength and weight were greater than mine. His triumph and delight glared from his glittering black eyes, and he resolved to lose nothing of his savage enjoyment. Holding me down with the grasp of a giant, against which all my struggles were wholly vain, he raised aloft his long sharp knife, and said—'Pindah lickoyee das—ay-go, dee dah tatsan,' which means, 'The white eyed man, you will be soon dead.' I thought as he did, and in that frightful moment made a hasty commendation of my soul to the Benevolent, but I am afraid that it was mingled with some scheme to get out of my predicament, if possible.

"To express the sensations I underwent at that moment is not within the province of language. My erratic and useless life passed in review before me in less than an instant of time. I lived more in that minute or two of our deadly struggle than I had ever done in years, and, as I was wholly powerless, I gave myself up for lost—another victim to Apache ferocity. His bloodshot eyes gleamed upon me with intense delight, and he seemed to delay the death stroke for the purpose of gladdening his heart upon my fears and inexpressible torture. All this transpired in less than half a minute, but to me it seemed hours. Suddenly he raised his right arm for the final stroke. I saw the descending blow of the deadly weapon, and knew the force with which it was driven.

"The love of life is a strong feeling at any time; but to be killed like a pig, by an Apache, seemed pre-eminently dreadful and contumelious. Down came the murderous knife aimed

full at my throat, for his position on my body made that the most prominent part of attack. Instantly I twisted my head and neck on one side to avoid the blow and prolong life as much as possible. The keen blade passed in dangerous proximity to my throat, and buried itself deeply in the soft soil, penetrating my black silk cravat, while his right thumb came within reach of my mouth, and was as quickly seized between my teeth. His struggles to free himself were fearful, but my life depended on holding fast. Finding his efforts vain, he released his grasp of my right arm, and seized his knife with his left hand, but the change, effected under extreme pain, reversed the whole state of affairs. Before my antagonist could extricate his deeply-buried weapon with his left hand, and while his right was held fast between my teeth, I circled his body and plunged my sharp and faithful dagger twice between his ribs, just under his left arm, at the same time making another convulsive effort to throw off his weight. In this I succeeded and in a few moments had the satisfaction of seeing my enemy gasping his last under my repeated thrusts. Language would fail to convey anything like my sensations during that deadly contest, and I will not attempt the task."

The Indians were defeated, losing ten killed and a number wounded, how many wounded was never ascertained. The whites lost one man, James Kendrick, and three were wounded, to-wit: John Wollaston, John H. Marble, and Theodore Houston. Houston and Marble died of their wounds soon after reaching Tucson, which resulted in breaking up the party.

CHAPTER XVII.

EARLY MINES AND MINING.

ARIZONA MINING AND TRADING COMPANY — AJO COPPER MINE — PLANCHAS DE LA PLATA — COPPER MINE NEAR TUCSON — SILVER MINE NEAR SAN XAVIER — HERMAN EHRENBERG FORMS SONORA EXPLORING AND MINING COMPANY — MAJOR HEINTZELMAN, PRESIDENT—C. D. POSTON, MANAGER — LOCATE AT TUBAC—CONDITIONS AT TUBAC—ESTABLISHMENT OF FORT BUCHANAN — FIRST MINING MACHINERY IN ARIZONA—DESCRIPTION OF HEINTZELMAN MINE BY SYLVESTER MOWRY—BREAKING OUT OF CIVIL WAR—WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS—RAIDS UPON MINING CAMPS BY OUTLAWS AND INDIANS—ABANDONMENT OF MINES—PATAGONIA (MOWRY) MINE—ACQUIRED BY SYLVESTER MOWRY—CONFISCATION BY GENERAL CARLETON—FIRST PLACER MINING—GOLD PLACERS ON GILA DISCOVERED BY JACOB SNIVELEY—DISCOVERY OF PLACERS AT LA PAZ BY PAULINE WEAVER—DISCOVERY OF WEAVER DIGGINGS—THE WALKER PARTY—HENRY WICKENBURG DISCOVERS THE VULTURE MINE.

Exploring parties sent out by the Government, particularly those along the southern part of what is now Arizona, gave some attention in a casual way to the mineral resources of the country, and these reports reaching San Francisco, probably much magnified, gave rise to the organization of the first exploring party sent into

what is now Arizona. Some time in the latter part of the year 1854, a company was formed by Major B. Allen, J. D. Wilson, William Blanding, A. S. Wright, and others, which was known as the Arizona Mining & Trading Company, under the direction of E. E. Dunbar. The expedition was outfitted in Los Angeles in October, 1854, and started, twenty men strong, for Fort Yuma. The names of these men, as far as is at present known, were E. E. Dunbar, — McElroy, F. Rondstadt, P. Brady, G. Kibbers, George Williams, Joe Yancy, Dr. Webster, — Porter, Charles Hayward, — Bendel, — Cook, and one other. Taking the road by Tinaja Alta, they heard of the Ajo copper mines, about 90 miles south of east of Yuma. There they left six men to hold possession as best they could. The remainder continued to prospect the Arizona mountains for the celebrated silver mine known as the Planchas de la Plata, that had been abandoned by the Mexicans, of which it is stated, in Ward's Mexico, that a piece of native silver of 2700 pounds had been taken out by the Spaniards. After several months of continued search, this mine was discovered. They found first a piece of pure silver of about four ounces and a few days thereafter a piece of nineteen pounds was taken out of old shallow diggings, overgrown by stout oak trees. About this time the party at the Ajo copper mine was attacked early in the morning by a company of Mexican soldiers, headed by the Prefect and other authorities, who demanded the delivery of the mine, as owned by the Mexicans. The boundary line under the Gadsden

purchase had not yet been established, and the Mexican threatened to take the mine by force if it was not surrendered within two hours. Mr. Hayward's spirited answer to them was: "We don't think of surrendering; if you want to fight, let us begin before the sun gets hot," and this settled the question. The troops retired to the Presidio del Altar, Sonora, just in time to receive the news of the discovery of the long lost Planchas de la Plata by the rest of the American party. The Mexicans immediately ordered the Americans to leave the country, and they, being well aware that they were on Mexican territory, thought it prudent to comply.

The Ajo mine was worked continuously from 1855, and the first shipment from it was of exceedingly rich ore, which was made to San Francisco in 1856, by the Arizona Mining and Trading Company.

In 1856 a Mexican from San Francisco organized an outfit to work the mines near Tucson. He first worked a copper mine about thirty-five miles west from there, and then a silver mine near San Xavier del Bac. The entire party, after much delay, arrived at Yuma, and was afterwards lost with man and beast, in the territory between Maricopa Wells and the copper mine. Only one, a man by the name of Cook, escaped. This crippled the enterprise so that it came to a standstill.

About this time, Mr. Herman Ehrenberg, whose name is linked with the early history of Arizona, and who had been, for some time, prospecting along the Gila and in Sonora, formed in New York the Sonora Exploring and Mining

Company, of which Samuel Colt, of Hartford, William T. Coleman, Chas. D. Poston, and Major Hartley were directors. This company, of which Major Heintzelman was president, is said to have received \$100,000 from the Texas and Pacific Railroad Company for the opening up of mines in Arizona. The representatives of the company arrived, with Mr. Poston, as manager, Ehrenberg and Brunkow, as mining engineers, in Arizona, in 1857, and took up headquarters in the deserted town of Tubac, which had been evacuated by the Mexican troops, leaving the quarters in a fair state of preservation, minus doors and windows, which they hauled away.

The Presidio of Tubac was about ten leagues south of the mission church of San Xavier del Bac, on the Santa Cruz River, on the main road to Sonora and Mexico. The forests of the Santa Rita Mountains were invaded and pine lumber sawed out with whip saws, to furnish material for doors, windows, tables, chairs, bedsteads, and such other necessary articles of furniture as might be required in their bachelor housekeeping quarters. The quarters would accommodate about three hundred men, and the corrals were sufficient for all the animals necessary for the settlement. The old quartel was used as a storehouse, and the tower, of which three stories remained, was used as a lookout. The Santa Cruz River rolled by the eastern side of the Presidio, and fuel and grass were abundant throughout the valley and on the mountain sides. It was about a hundred leagues to Guaymas, the seaport on the Gulf of California, where

European merchandise could be obtained, there being no frontier customhouses at that time to interfere with free importation of supplies.

The headquarters of the company, in the autumn of 1856, were made comfortable, a store of provisions was laid in for the winter, and the exploration of the company for mines was ready to begin. "The mines in the Santa Rita mountains had," says Col. Poston, "been previously worked by the Spaniards and Mexicans, as was evident by the ruins of arrastres and smelters. Gold could be washed on the mountain sides, and silver veins could be traced by the discolored grass."

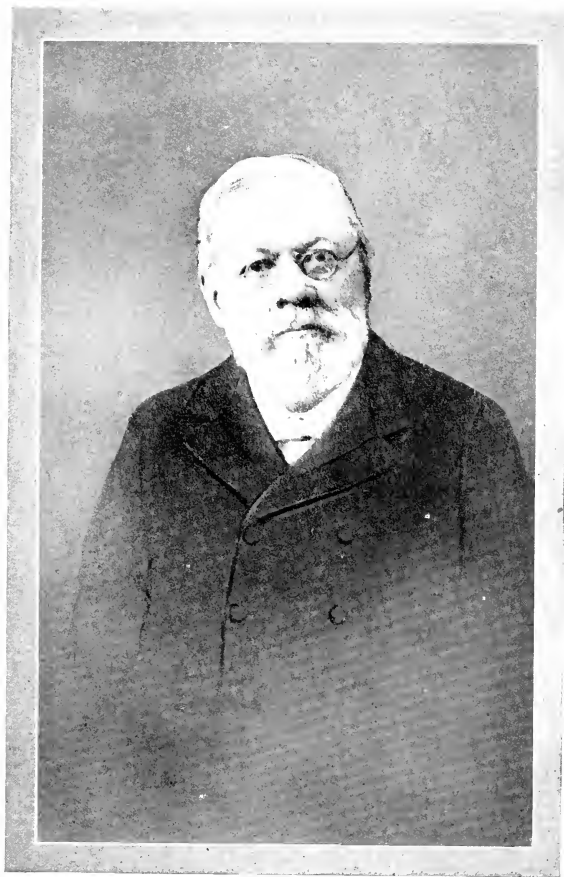
When it became known in Mexico that an American company had arrived in Tubac, Mexicans came in great numbers to find employment, and skilled miners were obtained at from fifteen to twenty-five dollars a month and rations. Flour, beef, beans, sugar, barley, corn and vegetables, were imported from Sonora at moderate prices. Many Mexicans, formerly soldiers of the Presidio of Tubac, had holdings of land in the valley and returned with their families to cultivate their "milpas." By the first of January following, an unofficial census of the valley of the Santa Cruz, in the vicinity of Tubac, showed a population of about a thousand souls. Col. Poston says:

"We had no law but love, and no occupation but labor. No government, no taxes, no public debt, no politics. It was a community in a perfect state of nature. As 'syndic' under New Mexico, I opened a book of records, performed the marriage ceremony, baptized children and granted divorces.

“Sonora has always been famous for the beauty and gracefulness of its *senoritas*. The civil wars in Mexico, and the exodus of the male population from Northern Mexico to California had disturbed the equilibrium of population, till in some pueblos the disproportion was as great as a dozen females to one male; and in the genial climate of Sonora, this anomalous condition of society was unendurable. Consequently the *senoritas* and grass widows sought the American camp on the Santa Cruz River. When they could get transportation in wagons hauling provisions, they came in state; others came in on the hurricane decks of burros, and many came on foot. All were provided for.

“The Mexican *senoritas* really had a refining influence on the frontier population. Many of them had been educated at convents, and all of them were good Catholics. They called the American men ‘*Los God-dammes*’ and the American women ‘*Las Camisas-Colorados*.’ If there is anything that a Mexican woman despises it is a red petticoat. They are exceedingly dainty in their underclothing—wear the finest linen they can afford; and spend half their lives over the washing machine. The men of Northern Mexico are far inferior to the women in every respect.

“This accretion of female population added very much to the charms of frontier society. The Mexican women were not by any means useless appendages in camp. They could keep house, cook some dainty dishes, wash clothes, sew, dance and sing. Moreover, they were expert at cards, and divested many a miner of his week’s wages over a game of monte.



CHARLES D. POSTON.

“As Alcalde of Tubac, under the government of New Mexico, I was legally authorized to celebrate the rites of matrimony, baptize children, grant divorces, execute criminals, declare war, and perform all the functions of the ancient El Cadi. The records of this primitive period are on file in the Recorder’s office of the Pueblo of Tucson, Pima County.

“Tubac became a sort of Gretna Green for runaway couples from Sonora, as the priest there charged them twenty-five dollars, and the Alcalde of Tubac tied the knot gratis, and gave them a treat besides.

“I had been marrying people and baptizing children at Tubac for a year or two, and had a good many godchildren named Carlos or Carlotta, according to gender, and began to feel quite patriarchial, when Bishop Lane sent down Father Mashboef (Vicar Apostolic) of New Mexico, to look after the spiritual condition of the Arizona people.

“It required all the sheets and tablecloths of the establishment to fix up a confessional room, and we had to wait until noon for the blessing at breakfast; but worse than all that, my comrades, who used to embrace me with such affection, went away with their rebosas over their heads without even a friendly salute.

“It was ‘muy triste’ in Tubac, and I began to feel the effects of the ban of the Church, when one day after breakfast, Father Mashboef took me by the arm (a man always takes you by the arm when he has anything unpleasant to say), and said:

“‘My young friend, I appreciate all you have been trying to do for these people, but these mar-

riages you have celebrated are not good in the eyes of God.'

"I knew there would be a riot on the Santa Cruz if this ban could not be lifted. The women were sulky, and the men commenced cursing and swearing, and said they thought they were entitled to all the rights of matrimony.

"My strong defense was that I had not charged any of them anything, and had given them a marriage certificate with a seal on it, made out of a Mexican dollar, and had given a treat and fired off the anvil. Still, although the Pope of Rome was beyond the jurisdiction of even the Alcalde of Tubac, I could not see the way open for a restoration of happiness.

"At last I arranged with Father Mashboef to give the sanction of the Church to the marriages and legitimize the little Carloses and Carlottas with holy water, and it cost the company about \$700 to rectify the matrimonial situation on the Santa Cruz.

"An idea that it was lonesome at Tubac would be incorrect. One can never be lonesome who is useful, and it was considered at the time that the opening of mines which yielded nothing before, the cultivation of land which lay fallow, the employment of labor which was idle, and the development of a new country, were meritorious undertakings.

"The table at Tubac was generously supplied with the best the market afforded, besides venison, antelope, turkeys, bear, quail, wild ducks, and other game, and we obtained through Guaymas a reasonable supply of French wines for Sunday dinners and the celebration of feast days.

"It is astonishing how rapidly the development of mines increases commerce. We had scarcely commenced to make silver bars,—'current with the merchant'—when the plaza of Tubac presented a picturesque scene of primitive commerce. Pack trains arrived from Mexico, loaded with all kinds of provisions. The rule was to purchase everything they brought, whether we wanted it or not. They were quite willing to take in exchange silver bars or American merchandise. Sometimes they preferred American merchandise. Whether they paid duties in Mexico was none of our business. We were essentially free traders.

"The winter was mild and charming, very little snow, and only frost enough to purify the atmosphere. It would be difficult to find in any country of the world, so near the sea, such prolific valleys fenced in by mountains teeming with minerals. The natural elements of prosperity seem concentrated in profusion seldom found. In our primitive simplicity we reasoned that if we could take ore from the mountains and reduce it to gold and silver with which to pay for labor and purchase the productions of the valleys, a community could be established in the country independent of foreign resources. The result will show the success or failure of this Utopian scheme.

"The usual routine at Tubac, in addition to the regular business of distributing supplies to the mining camps, was chocolate or strong coffee the first thing in the morning, breakfast at sunrise, dinner at noon, and supper at sunset.

"Sunday was the day of days at Tubac, as the superintendents came in from the mining camps

to spend the day, and take dinner, returning in the afternoon. One Sunday we had a fat wild turkey, weighing about twenty-five pounds, and one of my engineers asked permission to assist in the cocina. It was done to a charm, and stuffed with pine nuts, which gave it a fine flavor.

“As we had plenty of horses and saddles, a gallop to the old mission of San Jose de Tuma-cacori, one league south on the Santa Cruz River, afforded exercise and diversion for the ladies, especially of a Sunday afternoon. The old mission was rapidly going to ruin, but the records showed that it formerly supported a population of 3,500 people, from cultivation of the rich lands in the valley, grazing cattle, and working the silver mines. The Santa Cruz Valley had been and could apparently again be made an earthly paradise. Many fruit trees yet remained in the gardens of the old mission church, and the ‘Camp Santo’ walls were in a perfect state of preservation.

“The communal system of the Latin races was well adapted to this country of oases and detached valleys. Caesar knew nearly as much about the government machine as the sachem of Tammany Hall, or a governor in Mexico. At least, he enriched himself. In countries requiring irrigation, the communal system of distributing water has been found to produce the greatest good for the greatest number. The plan of a government granting water to corporations, to be sold as a monopoly, is an atrocity against nature; and no deserving people will for long submit to it. The question will soon come up whether the government has any more right to sell the water than the air.

"In the spring of 1857 a garden containing about two acres was prepared at Tubac, and irrigated by a canal from the Santa Cruz River. By the industry of a German gardener, with two Mexican assistants, we soon produced all the vegetables, melons, etc., that we required, and many a weary traveler remembers, or ought to remember, the hospitality of Tubac. We were never a week without some company and sometimes had more than we required; but nobody was ever charged anything for entertainment, horse-shoeing, and fresh supplies for the road. Hospitality is a savage virtue, and disappears with civilization."

The ore in the Santa Rita Mountains proved to be too low grade to be profitably worked at that time, so the explorers turned their attention to the west side of the Santa Cruz River, and soon a vein of silver copper glance, called by the Mexicans "petanque" was discovered that yielded from the grass roots seven thousand dollars a ton. This mine was afterwards named in honor of the president of the company, "Heintzelman," which, in German mining lore, is said to be the name of the genius who presides over mines.

The products of the mine, after smelting, which contained about fifty per cent of silver, were shipped to San Francisco, via Guaymas, where the silver was sold at from 125 to 132 cents per ounce for the Asiatic market.

Silver bullion being rather too weighty for purposes of exchange, the company adopted the Mexican system of "boletas." Engravings were made in New York and paper money printed on pasteboard about two inches by three, in small

denominations, twelve and one-half cents, twenty-five cents, fifty cents, one dollar, five dollars, and ten dollars. Each boleta had a picture by which the illiterate could ascertain its denomination, viz.: twelve and one-half cents a pig; twenty-five cents, a calf; fifty cents, a rooster; one dollar, a horse; five dollars, a bull; ten dollars, a lion. With these boletas the hands were paid off every Saturday, and they were taken as currency at the stores, and among the merchants in the country and in Mexico. When a run of silver was made, anyone holding tickets could have them redeemed in silver bars, or in exchange on San Francisco. This primitive system of flat money had an excellent effect. Everybody holding these boletas was interested in the success of the mines, and the entire community was dependent for its prosperity upon that of the company. They were all redeemed and retired from circulation.

In the autumn of 1857 a detachment of the First Dragoons arrived in the Santa Cruz Valley, and established Fort Buchanan. The officers were Colonel Blake, Major Stein and Captain Ewell. Coincident with the arrival of the military on the Santa Cruz was the arrival of a citizens' train of wagons laden with supplies—twelve wagons with twelve mules each—belonging to Santiago Hubbell, of New Mexico. These wagons took back a return freight of ores from the Heintzelman mine to the steamboat landing at Kansas City, for which they were paid twelve and a half cents a pound. The ores were in rawhide bags, and a ton to the wagon. This was the first shipment of ore from this part of what

is now Arizona, and was a very long haul for mule teams. On their arrival in the States, they were distributed to different cities for examination and assay, and gave Arizona its first reputation as a producer of minerals. The average was \$1500 per ton in silver, besides a good deal of copper.

The first mining machinery brought into Arizona was by this company.

Sylvester Mowry, in his address before the Geographical Society, in 1859, said:

“The Heintzelman Mine—so called after the president of the company—bids fair to become more famous than any of the great mines of Old Mexico. From a late letter it is claimed that the ores thus far smelted yield the astonishing average of \$950 per ton. I saw this mine in September of last year. About two hundred tons of the ore had already been extracted, and the yield from one small furnace was about one thousand ounces per week. At a cost of \$39,000 the company have brought from San Francisco and erected amalgamating works, from which they expect to obtain \$3,000 per day—a million a year. This mine has the most extraordinary reputation throughout Sonora. I found, in traveling through the state, that almost every shop-keeper knew the value of the ore. It was obtained from the miners, who had stolen and sold or exchanged it for goods.”

The reduction works of the Heintzelman mine were located on the Arivaca ranch, eight miles distant from the mine, and connected with it by an excellent road. The process used was the European barrel amalgamation for argentifer-

ous copper ores, and was introduced by Mr. Kustel, a German metallurgist, about the year 1859. About one and a half tons per day was reduced. Six dry stamps, a steam arrastra, one reverberatory roasting furnace, four barrels, a retort, and one refining furnace, together with a ten horse-power engine, constituted the works. This was the first time where the barrel process for the treatment of argentiferous ores was used in the United States, and, being experimental, was far from perfect. Lieutenant Mowry, in his "Arizona and Sonora," page 167, says:

"From the results obtained in 1859 on 160 tons of amalgamated ore, it appears that about \$24,000 worth of silver was produced. The loss of quicksilver equalled one pound (one dollar) for every forty dollars of silver extracted. The consumption of copper was 1480 pounds; of salt, 32,000 pounds, and of wood, 300 cords. The production of silver at the Heintzelman mine is estimated at over \$100,000 (not including large amounts of ore stolen and worked in Sonora)."

Besides these there were many other mines and prospects being worked in that vicinity. Tubac became one of the most prosperous towns in the territory, with a mixed population of four or five hundred, with handsome residences, store-rooms, gardens and fields, and other evidences of civilized life. At Santa Rita, Sopori, and Arivaca, reduction works were employed, and a great deal of bullion was taken out. The ores were rich, easily reduced, and notwithstanding the frequent raids of the Apaches, the work of development went steadily forward until the breaking out of the civil war, when the garrisons

stationed in the country were withdrawn, and the population left to the mercy of the Apaches and marauding Mexicans, who, believing that the Government of the United States was broken up, crossed the border and carried off what the Apaches did not destroy. Harassed by outlaws and exposed to constant attack from the Apaches, the mining camps were abandoned. "Tubac was reduced to a mass of blackened adobe walls, and in a few short months heaps of desolate ruins were all that was left of the prosperous mining camps of southern Arizona."

Col. Poston says: "After the abandonment of the Territory by the United States troops, armed Mexicans in considerable numbers crossed the boundary line, declaring that the American Government was broken up, and they had come to take their country back again. Even the few Americans left in the country were not at peace among themselves—the chances were that if you met in the road it was to draw arms, and declare whether you were for the North or the South.

"The Mexicans at the mines assassinated all the white men there when they were asleep, looted the place, and fled across the boundary line to Mexico. The smoke of burning wheat fields could be seen up and down the Santa Cruz Valley, where the troops were in retreat, destroying everything before and behind them. The Government of the United States abandoned the first settlers of Arizona to the merciless Apache. It was impossible to remain in the country and continue the business without animals for transportation, so there was nothing

to be done but to pack our portable property on the few animals we kept in the stables and strike out across the desert for California.

“With only one companion, Professor Pumpelly, and a faithful negro and some friendly Indians for packers, we made the journey to Yuma by the Fourth of July, where we first heard of the Battle of Bull Run. Another journey took us across the Colorado desert to Los Angeles, and thence we went by steamer to San Francisco, and thence via Panama to New York.

“It was sad to leave the country that had cost so much money and blood, in ruins, but it seemed to be inevitable. The plant of the company at this time, in machinery, material, tools, provisions, animals, wagons, etc., amounted to considerably over a million dollars, but the greatest blow was the destruction of our hopes,—not so much of making money as of making a country. Of all the lonesome sounds that I remember (and it seems ludicrous now), most distinct is the crowing of cocks on the deserted ranches. The very chickens seem to know they were abandoned.”

Another of the early famous mines located in what is now the State of Arizona was the Patagonia, afterwards called the Mowry mine. It was located in the southern spurs of the Patagonia Mountains, seventy-five miles from Tucson, and three or four miles north of the Sonora line. It was discovered in 1857 by a Mexican herder, who sold it to Captain Ewell (afterwards General Ewell of the Confederate Army) and Messrs. Brevoort, Douglass, and Johnson, who gave the Mexican a pony and some other traps for the location. In 1859 Colonel Titus and

Brevoort became the owners by purchase, and in 1860 they sold it to Lieutenant Mowry for \$25,000. Lieutenant Mowry associated other parties with him, erected buildings, furnaces, machinery, etc., and worked the mine successfully until 1862, when he was arrested by order of General Carleton, who was then in command of the Union forces in the territory, was taken to San Francisco, but was never tried on the charge of disloyalty preferred by General Carleton. There was much indignation among the people of the territory against General Carleton for the arrest of Lieutenant Mowry, and it was then charged, and is yet, that the arrest was without cause, and made on account of previous jealousies and ill feelings between Carleton and Mowry when they were in the service in former years. Be this so or not, the result of the arrest of Mowry was the ruin of all his hopes of fortune and affluence. After his release, he went to London for the purpose of selling his mine, and was taken sick and died in poverty. After the death of Mowry, his heirs, who resided in the Eastern States, being either ignorant of the mining laws, or too poor to fulfill the requirements, neglected to maintain their title, and in the year 1875 the property was relocated by Tucson parties.

While in the possession of the property, Lieutenant Mowry developed and worked it quite extensively, expending about \$200,000 in the work, and, although the process used by him was not the most economical, or the one best suited to the treatment of the ore, the prices obtained by him showed a net profit of over \$100 per ton.

It is significant that although Lieutenant Mowry was arrested and confined in Fort Yuma for a period of some four months, he was never brought to trial, and no evidence was adduced against him, and at the end of his confinement in Fort Yuma he was unconditionally released. His property was not, however, immediately restored to him, and there may be some truth in his charges, made in an open letter to the New York World, and published April 25th, 1864, which are as follows:

“Nearly two years ago the Mowry Silver Mines in Arizona were seized by a Brigadier-General, whose name shall not disgrace this letter, and a marshal of the United States, in the name of the United States. The mines were then producing about \$700 per day; in a few weeks they would have been producing \$1500 per day, and by the close of the year double that sum.

“By a nice little arrangement between the brigadier-general and the marshal aforesaid, the mines were leased to a third party in the name of the government for \$100 per month. Net result to the government: \$100 per month, paid by the mine, and charged by the marshal for traveling expenses. Result to the brigadier-general and marshal: several thousand dollars per month. The worst of the matter is yet to come. No improvements have been made at the mines to increase their product; and instead of their producing, as they can and ought, \$5,000 per day, they produce no more than they did two years ago; and this will always be the case if the government attempts to work the mines on its own account.”

Such was the encouragement given by the government of the United States to the pioneer miners in the western territory which had been acquired from Mexico under the Gadsden purchase.

Bancroft says the Mission Fathers never did any mining in Arizona. Hamilton and others claim to the contrary. The following, in reference to the first placer mining in the State of Arizona is taken from Elliott's History of Arizona, 1884:

“But there is evidence of still earlier discoveries and extensive workings. * * * To the north of the Quijotoa Mountains about six miles, there is an area of about three miles square, more or less, of placer ground, which has been extensively worked (from the most reliable authority) as early as 1774, by Padre Lopez, a Castilian priest, and up to 1849, when the gold excitement of California caused many to leave for the north, the remainder returning to Lower California, whence they had come. The workings of the placer are remarkable. The most of the ground is a perfect honeycomb of working shafts from five to twenty feet deep, covering the gold field—so close together that it is almost impossible to ride over the ground without danger. These shafts or pits are connected by underground workings, from which the gold was evidently taken. The deepest shafts are those furthest removed from the base of the mountain. Some of the dumps of the deep workings are very large, and have been found rich enough to work with profit, as the methods used by ancient gold miners of that region were so crude and

primitive that none but the coarse gold was taken. Several parties now working on the dumps are making from \$3.00 to \$5.00 per day."

Gold placers were discovered on the Gila at what was called Gila City, in 1858, by Jacob Sniveley. Sniveley was Sam Houston's secretary when Houston was President of the Lone Star Republic; and commanded a force of two or three hundred men which Texas sent out to operate against the Mexicans on the Santa Fe Trail. This force was captured by the American military authorities and disbanded. Sniveley came to Arizona somewhere about the year 1857. He was a Pennsylvanian by birth, and was killed by the Indians, as will be seen later in this history.

Sylvester Mowry, in speaking of these placers at the time he visited them in 1859, says:

"The facts in reference to the present condition of the Gila gold mines in Arizona are simply these: At a point on the Gila River, about twenty miles from its junction with the Colorado, and in a succession of sand hills gold was discovered in September, 1858. The emigrants who were still on their way stopped, and, the news reaching California, others came in. I visited the gold mines early in November, and found about one hundred men and several families. A town called Gila City had been already laid out, and temporary houses of brush and adobe were in the course of erection. I examined carefully for myself, and found that several men could afford to pay laborers three dollars per day and their board to work for them. I saw more than twenty dollars washed out of

eight shovelful of dirt, and this in the crudest manner, and by an unpracticed hand. I saw several men whom I knew well would not have been there had they not been doing well, who told me they had made from \$30 to \$125 per day each. I purchased about \$300 in gold dust out of a lot of more than \$2000. A portion of this dust is here, if anyone is curious enough to wish to see it. Several hundred men have gone into the mines since I left Arizona. My letters give me no reason to suppose the mines have given out or show any signs of failure."

Pauline Weaver, the old guide and frontiersman, discovered the placers at La Paz, on the Colorado River, about the year 1861. He washed out a little of the dirt in a pan, and, not knowing what it was, took it to Yuma and showed it to Jose M. Redondo, who declared it to be gold. Soon thereafter a thriving settlement was established there, with, Hamilton says, a population of about two thousand souls. These placers have long been worked out.

In 1862, Pauline Weaver, Peeples and Jack Swilling discovered what is known as Weaver Diggings, near Stanton, which was found only by an accident. On the top of a high mountain, flat on the surface, were discovered the richest placers ever found in the State. One of the parties having lost an animal, which had strayed upon this table mountain, went in search of it, and discovered coarse gold. The ground was immediately staked out and worked, and yielded, it is said, within a small area, something over a million dollars. Weaver Creek is still worked to some extent.

In 1861 the Walker party was organized in California for mining explorations in Arizona; after a long and severe trip they arrived in Prescott, and began placer mining on Granite Creek and other creeks adjacent to the present town of Prescott. The area of these placers was quite extensive, extending to Turkey Creek and to the Big Bug District. There was a great deal of gold taken from these placers. The full account of this expedition will be given farther along in this history.

Henry Wickenburg discovered what is known as the Vulture Mine in 1863, and probably the most authentic account of this discovery is given in the Prescott Miner of June 6, 1868. This account was written by a correspondent of the Florida Press at Wickenburg from the story as told by Henry Wickenburg himself, and is as follows:

“He (Wickenburg) came in with Bloomfield in 1863, and with another companion. He left that gold seeker in a few weeks. The two men spent long months hunting for gold through the mountains. Wickenburg’s companion at length became sick and weary and stayed in camp while Wickenburg prospected the hills. One hot day Wickenburg, weary and faint, sat down on a hill 15 miles from the Hassayampa, the nearest water. His spirits were all but broken and his money spent. He was attracted by the appearance of the country, and on examining it, he found his resting-place to be the croppings of a gold-bearing quartz lode, unequalled in these mountains famous for their mines. Wickenburg returned to his companion, who would not credit

his story. At last they parted; the one to return with Wickenburg's crazy story, Wickenburg to remain, mining his treasure. Here, far from white men, surrounded by hostile Indians, with none but his wife to give him food, Wickenburg remained for seven months, his faith increasing in his discoveries. White men came at last, and found that Wickenburg was right. The mine was taken up, and a shrewd miner, Mr. Phillips, of New York, hurried out, and Henry Wickenburg sold his discovery, except one-fifth, which he holds, for \$85,000.00. Wickenburg, through sharpers and bad investments, has lost the greater part of his fortune, but he has enough in reserve."

In regard to the story of Wickenburg and his discovery of the Vulture Mine, the editor of the Miner saw fit to add a note as follows:

"The above, as far as we know, is correct, with the exception of the wife part. That is news to most of Wickenburg's acquaintances here. The imaginative mind of the writer blundered up that part of it to be sure, as we know Henry to be virtuous."

Reports concerning these discoveries of gold in Arizona which were, no doubt, greatly magnified and exaggerated the farther they were carried, probably induced Congress to organize the Territory of Arizona, as the Government, at that time, was much in need of gold.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE NAVAJOS.

LOCATION—OCCUPATION—POSSESSIONS—DRESS —
ARMS—BLANKETS—SUPERSTITIONS—EQUAL-
ITY OF SEXES—DIVORCE—WOMEN UNCHASTE
—NUMBER—FORM OF GOVERNMENT—WAR
WITH MEXICANS—NOT DANGEROUS AS WAR-
RIORS—DISREGARD TREATIES—EXPEDITIONS
AGAINST THEM—COLONEL DONIPHAN—MA-
JOR WALKER—COLONEL J. M. WASHINGTON
—COLONEL SUMNER—BUILDING OF FORT
DEFIANCE—KILLING OF NEGRO BOY JIM—
CAMPAIGN BY AGENT YOST, CAPTAIN McLANE
AND CAPTAIN BLAS LUCERO—CAMPAIGN BY
COLONEL MILES—CAPTAIN JOHN P. HATCH
—INDIANS FURNISHED WITH FIREARMS, SUP-
POSEDLY BY MORMONS—COLONEL MILES' SEC-
OND CAMPAIGN—CAPTAIN LINDSAY—LIEU-
TENANT HOWLAND—TREATY.

The Navajos, when Arizona was taken over from Mexico, were the most populous tribe of Indians. They occupied what is now the north-western portion of New Mexico, and the north-eastern portion of Arizona. For years they had been in a constant state of warfare with the Mexicans, and, to some extent, with the Zunis and Moquis. They were a virile race, further advanced in civilization, and the arts of civilization, than any of the Apache tribes. They were a pastoral people, and to some extent, an agricultural people. Their dwellings then, as now, consisted of rude conical huts of poles, covered with

brush and grass and plastered with mud, which were called *hogans*. On account of their nomadic habits and certain superstitions, which cause the destruction of their hogans at times, they refused to construct more substantial buildings. They are of a more peaceful disposition than the other Apache tribes, not being dependent upon game for their livelihood. At the time of the American conquest, they possessed about 200,000 sheep, 10,000 horses and many cattle. Their chief crop was corn, of which they sometimes raised as much as 60,000 bushels in a year. In 1855 it was estimated that they had 5,000 acres under cultivation. They irrigated very little, but secured crops by deep planting, the corn being placed about eighteen inches under the surface, and earing out soon after it came above the ground. In addition to corn, they raised wheat, peas, beans, melons, pumpkins and potatoes, and had numerous peach and apricot orchards.

They dressed much more comfortably than other Indians. The men wore a double apron coat, like a shortened poncho, opened at the sides and fastened about the waist by a belt. It was of woolen cloth, and frequently much ornamented. The legs were covered with buckskin breeches, close fitting, adorned along the outer seams with brass or silver buttons, which extended to the knee, and were there met by woolen stockings. The feet were covered with moccasins, and often leggings, reaching to the knees, were worn. The attire was finished by a blanket thrown over the shoulders, as a mantle, and a turban or leather cap, surmounted by a

plume that gave it the appearance of a helmet. They formerly carried a lance and a shield, which, with their costume, gave them the appearance at a distance of Grecian or Roman warriors. The costume of the women was a sleeveless bodice loose above, but fitting neatly at the waist, a skirt reaching below the knees, and moccasins, in summer; in winter they added leggings and a blanket. The bodice and skirt were usually of bright colors, the latter terminating in a black border or fringe. The costumes of both sexes have become more or less nondescript of later years, but many still retain their ancient fashions. They manufacture all their clothing, including their blankets. The blankets have been the wonder and admiration of civilized people for many years. They are very thick, and so closely woven that a first class one is practically water proof, requiring four or five hours to become soaked through. The weaving, which is all done by women, is very tedious, two months being consumed in making a common blanket and sometimes half a year for a fine one. They are worth from fifteen to a hundred dollars, varying with the quality of the wool and the amount of work put upon them. They formerly manufactured cotton goods also, importing the cotton balls from Santa Fe, according to Senor Donancio Vigil, but this has been discontinued for many years. They make some pottery, similar to that of the Pueblos, from whom they probably learned the art. They have numerous silversmiths, who work cunningly in that metal, and these have made remarkable advances in the art of late years, since they have added modern tools

to their kits. They are singularly imitative, and will acquire a practical knowledge of any kind of work in a very short time.

“Their superstitions are peculiar. They never touch a corpse if possible to avoid it. If a person dies in a hogan, they either burn it, or pull out the poles and let it fall on the body; if on the open plain, they pile stones over the corpse and leave it. In consequence they do not scalp or mutilate their victims, and, in fact, have little pleasure in killing, though they have a Spartan admiration for adroit thievery. They have a great aversion to the hog, and neither eat its flesh nor permit it to live in their country. This, with a few other peculiarities, has caused some to insist on their Israelitish origin. They are averse to bear meat also, on account of some religious scruple, and seldom kill the animal except it be in self-defense.” (Dunn’s “Massacre of the Mountains.”)

Their treatment of women is entirely different from that of other Indian tribes. The women, in their system of government, are the equal of the men. The equality of sexes is fully respected. The marriage ceremony is very simple, consisting of eating a meal together, and the tie is as lightly severed when either party wearies of it. The women hold their property independently, and in case of divorce there is an equitable division of the community property, and the children go to the mother. Incompatibility of temper is a most excellent ground for separation. A woman is never entirely free until she is married, after which she is well treated and escapes the drudgery which is usually the lot of Indian

squaws. The greater part of the outdoor work is done by the men, the women looking after the domestic affairs. Man and wife eat together, and, oftentimes, the man, in travelling through the country, carries the papoose.

The women seem to give especial care to the sheep. The flocks are looked after by young girls, who employ their leisure moments in spinning a yarn that is used for manufacturing the blankets. These are the shepherdesses, and the sheep are never disposed of without their consent. In fact, no bargain is ever made by a Navajo without consulting his wife or wives. The husband never strikes his wife, and if she abandons him, he solaces his grief by killing some member of an adjoining tribe or other outsider, which makes everything pleasant again.

The women, unlike the other Apache tribes, are unchaste, and indulge to a great extent in free love. They are tall, straight and well formed. Being well treated they are in looks and personal appearance far above the average squaw. As a rule, the women are more healthy than the men, probably due to their outdoor exercise as shepherdesses during their youth.

At the time of the American conquest, the Navajos were supposed to number from twelve thousand to eighteen thousand, and from two thousand to four thousand warriors. Their government was without any controlling power. Each individual, to a great extent, was a law to himself. Some of bad disposition, lived a vagabond life, supporting themselves by plunder, stealing from their own nation as well as from others, and there was no power to restrain them,

for if an attempt was made to punish the culprits for stealing, they could defend themselves with their arrows, and were free to pursue their evil ways.

The patriarchal form of government was established among them. A man had absolute control over his children while they lived with him, but when once a man became a warrior, he was independent and his own master, and when married, the woman became her own mistress. Chiefs were made and unmade without ceremony, and the pledges of a chief had little weight, either while he was in office or afterwards. Every man was his own master, and, by virtue of being a warrior, exercised entire liberty of action. If he made a reputation in war, or acquired great riches, he became known as a chief. The head chief was the war chief; he had no authority in time of peace, and could not compel the surrender or punishment of a man of influence among his followers. This lack of government was the source of much trouble to the Americans, who were obliged to consider them as a tribe and treat with them on that basis. When a treaty was broken, it was necessary for them to treat with the tribe in demanding satisfaction, but they were unable, as a tribe, to make the reparation demanded. Another source of trouble was the bad feeling between them and the Mexicans. For centuries the two races had been at war, and as neither was over scrupulous in their dealings with each other, they were continually in conflict. After the Navajos had passed under American dominion, the blame for this is placed upon one or the other as writers

favor or oppose the Indians, the fact being that each robbed and abused the other at every opportunity. The Mexicans took the larger number of captives, but the Navajos stole the most property, and, when compelled to make restitution, invariably returned their poorest animals.

The Navajos were never dangerous as warriors. Their predatory excursions do not compare in brutality with those of the other Apache tribes. The unfriendly relations between the United States and the Navajos began with the occupation of New Mexico by General Kearny, who, by his annexation, assumed the protection of the New Mexicans from the Indians. His visit was short, but long enough for him to receive a taste of the predatory warfare which had existed between the two races for centuries. While on a visit to the settlements below Santa Fe with a detachment of troops, the Navajos raided the valley, and, in sight of this command, drove off a large number of horses and cattle, a part of which belonged to his command. An expedition under Colonel Doniphan was sent in October against them, but did not return until after Kearny had left for California. The result of this expedition was the bringing together of about three-fourths of the Navajo nation at Ojo del Oso (Bear Spring), and a treaty was made with them without any hostilities, but the treaty amounted to little, for the stealing went on as usual after the soldiers left the country.

In 1847 Major Walker marched against them with a force of volunteers, and penetrated their country as far as the Canyon de Chelly, but did not even succeed in making a treaty. In 1848,

Colonel Newby, with a large force of volunteers, entered their country, and made another treaty, which was promptly broken on his departure. In 1849, Colonel J. M. Washington marched against them with seven companies of soldiers and fifty-five Pueblo Indians. He was accompanied by Antonio Sandoval, chief of a band of about one hundred and fifty Navajos, who ever remained friendly to the Americans, and by Francisco Josta, Governor of the Pueblo of Jemez. This expedition was formed because, since their last treaty, the Navajos had stolen 1070 sheep, 34 mules, 19 horses and 78 cattle, carried off several Mexicans, and had murdered Micento Garcia, a Pueblo Indian. The Navajos were found on the Tunicha, a tributary of the San Juan, where Norbona, Jose Largo, and Archuletti, three of their chiefs, met Colonel Washington and Agent Calhoun in council. They agreed to meet at the Canyon de Chelly to form a permanent treaty, and were about to separate, when one of the stolen horses, owned by a Mexican volunteer then present, was noticed in the possession of the Indians, and a demand for it was made. The Navajos refused to surrender it and Colonel Washington directed that one of their horses should be seized in its place. This attempt being made, the Navajos fled and were fired on. Narbona, their head chief, was killed and six others mortally wounded. The command moved on to Canyon de Chelly, which they reached September 6th. The following morning, Mariano Martinez, who represented himself as the head chief, and Chapitone, the second chief, with a number of their

people, came into camp and sued for peace. It was granted on condition that they give up the stolen property, and surrender their Mexican captives, and the murderers of Garcia. They gave up three Mexicans and a part of the stolen property, agreeing to deliver the remainder in thirty days at the Pueblo of Jemez. The canyon heretofore had been considered impregnable, but Colonel Washington on this expedition, made a careful survey for a distance of nine and a half miles above its mouth, and found that the impression concerning it was erroneous. His command returned by the way of the Pueblo of Zuni, which is about seventy-five miles south of the Canyon. The Navajos did not deliver the property at Jemez, but a party of that tribe arrived at the settlements before the troops returned and ran off a large herd of mules within sight of Santa Fe. Shortly after this, Chapitone, the second chief, was killed by Mexicans near Cibollette.

Notwithstanding all their past experiences with the Navajos, and the knowledge that no treaty obligation was binding upon them, Colonel Sumner, afterwards a Union General in the Civil War, and Governor Calhoun, in 1851-52, met a large party of warriors and chiefs at Jemez, and proposed another treaty. The Indians, at first, ridiculed the proposition, but finally agreed to ratify the treaty with Colonel Washington, which they said Martinez and Chapitone had no authority to make. This treaty was continually violated during the same winter, and in the spring of 1852, Colonel Sumner marched against them, but being unable to

bring on a general engagement, he employed his time in building Fort Defiance.

The fort was located "in the heart of their country, sixty miles north of Zuni, fifteen miles south of the Canyon de Chelly, fourteen miles from the Laguna Negra (or Negrita), a deep and cool lakelet of dark water, much frequented by the Navajos, and three miles east of the present line of Arizona. It is in the highlands about the sources of the Rio Puerco of the West, at the base of a rocky range, which rises five hundred feet or more above the surrounding table land, known as the Bonito Hills. Through these hills breaks the Cañoncito Bonito (Pretty Little Canyon), an abrupt gorge with perpendicular walls, and at its mouth is the fort. The Canyon is half a mile long, averaging one hundred yards in breadth, with a level grassy floor. Near its head are two springs that feed a little stream which supplies the fort. This place, and several valleys of the vicinity had for a long time been favorite haunts of the Navajos. The fort was simply a group of barracks, stables and offices around a parade ground, 300 by 300 yards in extent. There were no stockades, trenches, block houses, or other fortifications. The buildings were principally of pine logs with dirt roofs, though a few of them were of adobe. There was one stone building for the officers."

In 1853 Colonel Sumner was succeeded by General Garland in command of the military, and Governor Lane by Governor Meriwether, shortly before which Romano Martin was robbed and murdered by the Navajos, who refused to surrender the murderers when demanded. The

new Governor, after a talk with the chiefs, extended a general amnesty, and matters proceeded as usual. In 1854 a soldier was killed at Fort Defiance by a Navajo. Major Kendrick, the officer in command, demanded the offender with such sternness, that the Indians concluded that something must be done. They agreed to surrender the guilty party, and a day was appointed for his execution by hanging. The Indians, strangely enough, asked the privilege of doing the hanging, which was granted to them, and, on the day appointed, they came forward and hung the alleged murderer in the presence of the troops. Two or three years later it was learned that the man executed was a Mexican, and that the murderer, who was a man of influence among them, was still living.

Governor Meriwether met the Navajos at Laguna Negra in 1855 for a talk. Sarcillo Largo, the head chief, declared that his people would not obey him and resigned his office at the council, whereupon the chiefs elected Manuelita to the position. A treaty was agreed upon, the Indians promising to surrender offenders and keep within certain reservation limits, except that they had the privilege of gathering salt at the saline lake near Zuni. This treaty was not ratified by the Senate of the United States, but that was immaterial because plundering went on just as if the treaty had never been made.

These outrages, for the most part, were made by a small portion of the Navajo tribe, and the real offense of the nation was in sheltering the wrong-doers and exercising no control over them, the truth being that while the great majority of

the Navajos were peaceable from natural inclination and the necessities of an agricultural and pastoral life, the warlike and vicious members exercised their inclination to plunder at will.

Early in 1858 a prominent Navajo had difficulty with his wife. She went to a dance instead of accompanying him on a visit as he desired. The husband repaired to the *baile* and, tearing almost all the clothing from her body, "reduced her costume," says the writer, "to an ultra-fashionable style." This was as far as he could pursue in the direct course of coercion under the Navajo customs. The next thing for him to do was to kill some outsider. On July 12th he went to Fort Defiance with the avowed intention of selling two blankets that he carried with him. He was there for three or four hours and sold one of the blankets to a camp woman, when Jim, a negro boy belonging to Major Brooks, the post commander, passed to the rear of the camp woman's quarters. As he came out on one side with his back turned to the Indian, who had jumped on his pony in the meantime, the Indian let fly an arrow which passed under the negro's shoulder blade, and penetrated his lung. The Indian fled at once and from the effects of this wound Jim died in three or four days. The day following the attack on the negro, the head chief was sent for, and the surrender of the assassin demanded. Under various excuses, action was postponed from time to time until July 22nd, when the chief was notified that the murderer must be produced within twenty days. Preparations for a campaign were made and Indian

Agent Yost came up from Santa Fe to act in conjunction with the military. He was escorted by Captain McLane and a dozen men, and, at Covero, was joined by Captain Blas Lucero with his company of Mexican scouts, fifty in number. As the party approached Bear Spring on August 29th, they found an encampment of the Navajos and attacked it. Firing was kept up until six Indians were killed, and several wounded, when Captain McLane was struck in the side by a ball and fell. It was supposed at the time that he was mortally wounded, but he afterwards recovered, the ball having struck a rib and glanced off. Part of the command charged and captured twenty-five ponies and a number of blankets, and the party then proceeded to Fort Defiance, where Colonel Miles arrived two days later, and took command. September 1st, Juan Lucero, a Navajo chief, came into Major Brooks' camp, and asked if the Major were not satisfied with the injury done the Indians at Bear Spring, but was informed that he was not, and would not be until the murderer was surrendered, dead or alive. A blockhouse was built on the hill east of the fort, as an additional defence, the garrison being comparatively small. The Indians being satisfied that compliance with the demands of the commanding officer was the only thing to be done, Sarcillo came in and promised to surrender the murderer. Sandoval, the friendly chief, made desperate efforts to keep on good terms with both parties. Every day he would announce his discoveries; first, the murderer was at Ojo del Oso, then in a cave near Laguna Negrita, now he had fled to the Sierra Tunicha, and on

the morning of September 6th, he announced that the murderer had been caught in the Sierra Chusca on the preceding day. Soon thereafter Sarcillo Largo arrived and stated that the murderer had been desperately wounded and died during the night. Could he have a wagon to bring the body in? This was denied him, but a mule was furnished him, and after much delay and display, the corpse was produced. Every one in the garrison who had known the offender was called to identify him, and each one unhesitatingly testified that this was the body, not of the murderer, but of a Mexican captive who had often visited the post. The surgeon also gave his opinion that the wounds on the corpse had been inflicted that morning. All of this was afterwards substantiated by the Indians themselves, but at the time the chiefs were unanimous in their declaration that the body was the one called for. Colonel Miles declined to hold any council with them and active hostilities were prepared for.

On the next morning Colonel Miles, with three companies of mounted riflemen, two of infantry and Lucero's scouts, entered the Canyon de Chelly, and, on the 11th, marched through the lower half of the canyon, meeting with no material resistance, but occasionally killing or capturing an Indian. When camped for the night in the canyon, the Indians gathered on the heights above and began firing at them. The attack did no harm, for the walls of the canyon were so high that the arrows lost their force and dropped horizontally to the ground. It was thought better, however, not to take any risks.

The father of the leader of the attacking party was among the prisoners who had been taken, and notice was given to him that he would be hung if the firing did not stop. He communicated his danger to his son, who withdrew his warriors, and left the command in peace. The next day they reached the mouth of the canyon, where Nah-risk-thlaw-nee, a chief, came in under a flag of truce, but was informed that there would be no peace until the murderer was surrendered. The soldiers then moved southwest twelve miles, to the ponds where the principal herds of the vicinity were pastured. Here six thousand sheep were captured. The Indians attacked the pickets on the morning of the 14th but were driven off after wounding four men, one mortally. The same day a bugler was killed, having wandered away from the command. The troops returned to the fort on the 15th having killed six Indians, captured seven, and wounded several, bringing with them six thousand sheep and a few horses.

Captain John P. Hatch, with 58 men, on the evening of the 25th, started for the ranch of Sarcillo Largo, situated nine miles from the Laguna Negra. Marching all night they approached the Indians early in the morning, through an arroya which crossed their wheat fields, getting within two hundred yards of their hogans before they were discovered. About forty Navajos, all armed with guns and revolvers, hastily assumed the defensive. Captain Hatch, when within fifty yards, dismounted his men and opened fire. The Indians emptied their rifles and revolvers and retreated, leaving

six dead; the wounded, including Sarcillo Largo, escaped. The command captured fifty horses and a large number of robes, blankets, etc. All they could not carry off they piled upon the wheat stalks near the houses, and burned. The Indians neither killed nor wounded any of the soldiers, due to their being unaccustomed to fire-arms. With their bows and arrows they certainly would have inflicted more injury. The Indians had just purchased their arms for war with the Americans, and were ignorant of their use. These arms were supposed to have been furnished by the Mormons, whose settlements joined those of the Navajos on the northwest.

September 20th, 1859. Captain J. G. Walker reported from Fort Defiance that he had met a party of Pah-Utes, eighty miles west of the Canyon de Chelly, while exploring the San Juan River, who said that they had been sent out to invite the Navajos to a great council of Indians, at the Sierra Panoche, for the purpose of a union against the Americans. Sierra Panoche is a mountain southwest of the Calabasa Range, and eighty miles east of the Colorado River. The Mormons had agreed to furnish all needed arms and ammunition for a general war against the United States. Captain Walker says: "That this report is substantially true I have every reason to believe, as the Pah-Utahs to confirm their story, exhibited several presents from the Mormons, such as new shirts, beads, powder, etc. I was further confirmed in this opinion by meeting, the next day, a deputation of Navajos on their way to Sierra Panoche, to learn the truth of these statements, which had been conveyed to

them by a Pah-Utah whom I saw in the Canyon de Chelly afterwards, who had been sent as a special envoy from the Mormons to the Navajos. He had in his possession a letter from a Mormon bishop or elder, stating that the bearer was an exemplary and regularly baptized member of the church of the Latter-Day Saints.' This report was confirmed by the Indian agent at Fort Defiance, the Indians in that vicinity having been visited for the same purpose, during Walker's absence, by an Indian who said, the Mormons had baptized him into their church, and given him a paper certifying that he was a Latter-Day Saint, and a good man."

On the 29th Colonel Miles, with another scouting party of three hundred men, again entered the field. The first day, in the Chusca Valley, about twenty miles northeast of the fort, they captured nine horses and one thousand sheep. On the 30th a detachment of 126 men, under Captain Lindsay, was sent back to the camp of Ka-ya-ta-na's band on a laguna fifteen miles distant. The detachment reached their destination about three o'clock in the morning and found the place deserted. The detachment followed on the trail of the Indians, and, at day-break, discovered them in a deep canyon, the descent to which was very difficult. As the soldiers were making their way down in single file, the foremost having just gained the bottom, three Indians rode up. With exclamations of astonishment and alarm, they turned and fled to warn their people. However, about a dozen men succeeded in reaching the bottom, and, with this handful, Captain Lindsay charged down the canyon. After a hard ride of five miles, they suc-

ceeded in overtaking the Indians and headed off their stock, amounting to seventy horses and four thousand sheep. On a wooded knoll in the canyon, Captain Lindsay held the stock with his handful of men until the remainder of his command came up. The property in the camp which had been deserted, consisting of blankets, robes, and other supplies, was all destroyed. In this action the Indians lost eight men killed; the troops four men killed, and one wounded. A series of expeditions were kept up, giving the Indians no time to rest. On October 4th, Major Brooks conveyed a number of trains towards Albuquerque, and circled through the Navajo country from Ojo del Gallo, in the western edge of the Rio Grande Valley. They had one engagement with the Indians in which 25 of the Indians were reported killed or badly wounded. On the morning of the 17th, 300 mounted Navajos attacked the post herd. They succeeded in killing two men and driving away sixty horses and mules. On the 18th Colonel Miles started in pursuit with a force of 250 soldiers and 160 volunteer Indians. The Indians were to be paid by a small ration and whatever they could capture, and their cupidity prevented a general engagement with the Navajos, but one hundred horses were captured from Manuelita's band, and their houses were destroyed. Lieutenant Howland, with 20 soldiers and forty of Blas Lucero's Mexicans, on the 23rd marched south from the fort to Colites Mountain. He surprised the ranch of the chief, Ter-ri-bo, next morning, capturing 16 women and children, four men, including Ter-ri-bo, ten horses and twenty goats and sheep. An extensive expedition was

then planned and was being carried out, when the Navajos sued for peace, and, on the 4th of December, an armistice was granted that gave the Navajos an opportunity to treat.

A treaty was made, with satisfactory conditions to all parties on the 25th of December, 1858. Eastern and southern limits of the territory of the Navajo nation were fixed which they were not to pass, except that Sandoval and his band retained their former location. Under this treaty, they were to make restitution and indemnification for depredations on citizens and Pueblo Indians, since August, 1858, by returning the property taken, or its equivalent in domestic animals, and for the future, the entire tribe was to be held responsible for the wrongs committed by any of its members, and reprisals were to be made from any flocks if satisfaction was not promptly given. Mexican, Pueblo and Navajo captives were to be surrendered if they desired to return to their own people. The surrender of the assassin of the negro boy Jim, was waived, it being represented that he had fled the country and was beyond their control. The right of the United States to establish military rule within Navajo territory was recognized, and, finally, the Navajos were urged to establish a form of government, either under a head chief, or some central power, which could act in all matters for the tribe. This treaty lasted nearly five months, but was broken before the Senate of the United States could ratify it.

This closes, for the present, the invasions of the Navajo territory by the Americans. The next occurred several years later, and will be treated later on in this history.

CHAPTER XIX.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS AND FIRST ATTEMPTS AT ORGANIZATION OF TERRITORY.

SURVEY AND LOCATION OF TOWN OF YUMA — ESTABLISHMENT OF FORT BUCHANAN — ESTABLISHMENT OF FORTS MOHAVE AND BRECKENRIDGE — TUCSON — NEW MEXICO MEMORIALIZES CONGRESS FOR ORGANIZATION OF TERRITORY OF ARIZONA — CONVENTION AT TUCSON — NATHAN P. COOK ELECTED DELEGATE — PRESIDENT BUCHANAN RECOMMENDS TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT FOR ARIZONA — SENATOR GWIN INTRODUCES BILL — NEW MEXICO PASSES RESOLUTIONS IN FAVOR OF BILL — VARIOUS PETITIONS — ELECTION AT TUCSON — SYLVESTER MOWRY ELECTED DELEGATE — CONGRESS AGAIN MEMORIALIZED — MOWRY AGAIN ELECTED DELEGATE — CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AT TUCSON — PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED — OFFICIALS CHOSEN — EDWARD MCGOWAN ELECTED DELEGATE — SENATOR GREEN INTRODUCES BILL.

The town of Yuma was surveyed in 1854, one year after the sale of the territory embraced in the Gadsden Purchase had been agreed upon between the two governments. In reference to this survey, Colonel C. D. Poston, in an article printed in the Overland Monthly, July, 1894, says:

“As the geography of the country was not well understood at the time, it was not presumably

known to the makers of the treaty that the boundary line would include both banks of the Colorado River in the American boundary, but it does. By a curious turn in the Colorado River, after passing through the gorge between Fort Yuma and the opposite bank, the boundary line of the United States includes both banks of the river to the crossing at Pilot Knob, nearly nine miles. When the State of California was organized in 1850, the constitution adopted the boundary line of Mexico as the boundary line of the State, and consequently assumed jurisdiction over the slip of land on the bank of the Colorado River opposite Fort Yuma. When Fort Yuma was established, the commanding officer established a military reservation including both banks of the Colorado River at its junction with the Gila.

“The boundary line between Mexico and the United States under the treaty of 1848, was run in 1850, and monuments erected on the southern bank of the Colorado, to indicate the possession of the United States.

“While we were encamped on the banks of the Colorado River, in the hot month of July, 1854, we concluded to locate a town site on the slip of land opposite Fort Yuma, and as we were well provided with treaties, maps, surveying instruments, and stationery, there was not much difficulty in making the location. The actual survey showed 936 acres within the slip, and this was quite large enough for a ‘town-site.’ A town-site is generally the first evidence of American civilization.

“After locating the town-site at Yuma, there was nothing to do but to cross the desert from

the Colorado River to San Diego. We made the journey on mules, with extraordinary discomfort. At San Diego we were as much rejoiced as the followers of Xenophon to see the sea.

"The townsite was duly registered in San Diego, which could not have been done if both banks of the Colorado River just below its junction with the Gila had not been recognized as being within the jurisdiction of the State of California. The county of San Diego collected taxes from there for many years. After the organization of the Territory of Arizona in 1863, Arizona assumed jurisdiction over the slip, and built a prison there. Congress subsequently made a grant of land included in the slip to the 'Village of Yuma' so that it is a mere question of jurisdiction, not involving the validity of any titles. The question of jurisdiction still remains unsettled, as it requires both an Act of Congress and an Act of the State Legislature to change the boundary line of a sovereign state."

Yuma was the only American occupation within what is now the State of Arizona in 1854. The United States did not take formal military possession of the Gadsden Purchase until 1856, at which time four companies of the First United States Dragoons were stationed at Tucson, and afterwards at Calabazas, some fifteen miles above Tubac on the Sonoita, a stream flowing into the Santa Cruz river from the east. Fort Buchanan was established in 1857. It was selected because it was the center of a fine grazing country, but was found to be unhealthy on account of malarial fevers which prevailed in

summer during the rainy season, consequently no permanent buildings were erected. Late in the year 1856 Fort Mohave was established near Beale's crossing of the Colorado, and was garrisoned by three companies of infantry, and in 1859 Fort Breckenridge was created below the junction of the Aravaipa and the San Pedro, and garrisoned by a part of the troops from Fort Buchanan.

The military at these posts, commanded by able and energetic officers, had many encounters with the Apache Indians, and did much good in protecting the country from the incursions of these savages.

Tucson was the most populous town in Arizona, but was without any civil government, Arizona, at that time, being a portion of Dona Ana County, New Mexico, the county seat of which was several hundred miles distant. Being thus left without courts or judicial or civil officers, the necessity for a separate territorial government was urgent. In 1854, New Mexico memorialized Congress for the organization of the territory of Arizona. There were three names suggested, namely Pimeria, Gadsonia and Arizona. The latter was adopted because it was supposed to be the most euphonious. Nothing was done by Congress in reference to this memorial.

Futile attempts were also made by a few citizens of Arizona to have Congress organize a territorial government, the first of which was in 1856, shortly after the United States had taken formal possession of the territory. On August 29th, 1856, a mass meeting or convention was

held in Tucson, that being then the most important point in Arizona, there being, at that time, no settlements north of the Gila River, and one Nathan P. Cook was chosen as delegate to Congress, but he was not admitted to a seat. His credentials were presented to the House of Representatives in 1857, referred to the Territorial Committee, which reported them back adversely, and also reported adversely to a territorial government because of the sparse population of Arizona at that time. The Committee, however, called attention to the unfortunate condition of the people, without any recognized government, and recommended that a bill be passed organizing a judicial district south of the Gila River, the appointment of a surveyor-general, and the providing of representation at Santa Fe, New Mexico, as well as for the registration of land claims and mining titles. In February, 1857, such a bill was passed by the United States Senate, but was not reached in the House of Representatives before final adjournment. In his message in 1857, President Buchanan recommended a territorial government for Arizona, and Senator Gwin, in December, 1857, introduced a bill to organize such a government for the Gadsden Purchase, under the name of Arizona.

In February, 1858, the Legislature of New Mexico passed resolutions in favor of this measure, but recommended a boundary line north and south on the meridian of 109° west from Greenwich, and the removal of all New Mexican Indians to Northern Arizona. Evidently New Mexico had but little use for the Apaches, and

was willing that the entire northern part of Arizona should be set aside as a military reservation upon which these savages could be herded. Petitions went up from different States and communities, favoring the organization of Arizona into a separate territory.

In September, 1857, the people of Arizona had gotten up a new petition, and, in an election held at Tucson, Sylvester Mowry was chosen Delegate to Congress. Mowry was not admitted to a seat in Congress, and the bill of Senator Gwin for territorial organization, failed of its passage. Under this bill, the northern line for the Territory of Arizona extended north to $33^{\circ} 45'$, and included all southern New Mexico up to the parallel through to the western line of Texas. In 1860 Mowry got out a map of this Arizona, dividing it into four counties, not, however, attaching to them the names by which they are now designated. On the west, what is now known as Yuma County, was called Castle Dome County; Pima County was called Ewell County, and extended east to the western base of the Chiricahua range of mountains, at Apache Pass. Mesilla County extended eastward to the Rio Grande, and Dona Ana County eastward to the line of Texas. The remainder of what is now embraced in Arizona north of $33^{\circ} 45'$, was left to New Mexico, and to the savages inhabiting that wilderness.

If this bill had passed it would have been a very expensive affair, the territorial limits extending from Yuma to the border of Texas, a distance, I think, of something like six hundred or seven hundred miles. Evidently neither New

Mexico nor Arizona wanted the Apaches. To use a modern vulgarism, the inhabitants of these two sections were willing to "pass the buck."

In 1858 and 1859 Congress was again memorialized, and Sylvester Mowry was again elected delegate, but no success attended the efforts of Arizona to secure a territorial organization.

In 1860 an unauthorized Constitutional Convention met in Tucson, which held its session from April 2nd to and including April 5th. It was composed of thirty-one delegates, who proceeded "to ordain and establish a provisional constitution to remain in force until Congress shall organize a Territorial Government, and no longer." This convention chose as Governor, Dr. L. S. Owings of Mesilla, and three judicial districts were created. Judges were to be appointed by the Governor, as were also a Lieutenant-Governor, an Attorney-General, and some other officials. A Legislature, consisting of nine senators, and eighteen representatives, was to be elected and convened upon the proclamation of the Governor. Measures were taken for organizing the militia, and a general election for county officers was called to be held in the month of May. The laws and codes of New Mexico were adopted. The proceedings of the convention, schedule and constitution, and the Governor's inaugural address, were printed in Tucson in what was, so far as known, the first book ever published in Arizona.

Under this provisional government the Governor made the following appointments: Lieutenant-Governor, Ignacio Orantia; Secretary of State, James A. Lucas; Controller, J. H. Wells;

Treasurer, Mark Aldrich; Marshal, Samuel G. Bean; District Judges, Granville H. Oury (chief justice); Samuel H. Cozzens and Edward McGowan (associate justices); District Attorneys, R. H. Glenn, Rees Smith, Thomas J. Mastin; Major General, W. C. Wordsworth; Adjutant-General, Valentine Robinson. Beyond the election of these, there are no records that the self-constituted list of officials accomplished anything. In November of that year, one of the associate justices, Edward McGowan, well known in California for his opposition to the Vigilance Committee in 1855, was elected as Delegate to Congress from the State of Arizona to succeed Sylvester Mowry, but he did not go to Washington, nor ask Congress to allow him to participate in national affairs.

In 1859, another bill was introduced to organize the territory of Arizona, the name having been changed to Arizuma, presumably to satisfy some element in Congress. This bill was reported from the Committee of Territorials in 1860. There was much debate upon it, the most of it being in reference to the slavery question, and the bill, like its predecessors, failed of passage.

Bancroft says Jeff Davis introduced this bill, which is an error. The bill was introduced by Senator Green of Missouri. Davis at no time fathered a measure to give a territorial government to Arizona.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CRABB MASSACRE.

HENRY A. CRABB — YGNACIO PESQUIERA — ORGANIZATION OF EXPEDITION—TREACHERY OF PESQUIERA—SURRENDER OF CRABB'S PARTY AT CABORCA—MASSACRE OF CRABB AND PARTY —JOHN G. CAPRON'S ACCOUNT OF EXPEDITION FROM TUCSON TO JOIN CRABB.

Upon the disbanding of the Whig party and the organization of the Native American Know-Nothing party, Henry A. Crabb became its leader in California. He was a man of scholarly attainments, of integrity and moral worth. In the fall election of 1855, the Know-Nothing party carried the State of California and secured a majority in the Legislature. Crabb was a candidate for Senator and was endorsed in caucus by his party. Senator Flint from San Francisco refused to abide by the decision of the caucus because Crabb was a Southern man. This defeated the election at that session of the Legislature. In the fall of 1856, the Know-Nothing Party was defeated and Henry A. Crabb, whose wife was a Miss Ainsa, and whose family had been prominent in Sonora, Mexico, through the persuasion of her brothers, entered into a compact with Ygnacio Pesquiera, who was then in revolt against the Gandara Government of Sonora, to aid him with five hundred to a thousand well-armed Americans. These men were to be recruited in California, and were to espouse the cause of Pesquiera. Their reward

was to be a strip of land along the northern portion of the State of Sonora for colonization purposes, the excuse to be given to the General Government was that these colonists would protect that State against the Apaches. In pursuance of this agreement, Crabb organized an expedition of about a hundred men, expecting to be followed by others from the State of California. With this meager force he crossed the Colorado and camped for several weeks on the Gila to recruit his animals, and from thence he pushed across the line into Mexican territory. In the meantime Pesquiera had succeeded in driving out the Gandara Government in Sonora, Gandara himself having sought refuge under the Stars and Stripes in Tucson. Under these conditions Pesquiera did not require the services of the Americans, and as the prejudices of the Mexicans at that time were very great against our people, and Pesquiera was criticized by his enemies for inviting the Americans into Sonora, he disavowed the entire transaction, and in a flaming proclamation, called upon all Mexicans patriotically to rally to their standards and drive out the invader. Crabb addressed a letter to the Prefect of Altar, saying that he came, not as an enemy, but as a friend, upon the invitation of many prominent citizens of the State to bring with him a thousand colonists; that his company of one hundred was the vanguard and the rest would follow very soon; that he was well aware that the Prefect had given orders to poison wells and to resort to the most inhuman measures of barbaric warfare; that he came with arms in his hands because they had to pass

through a country infested with Indians, and that it was customary for both Mexicans and Americans always to carry arms in those wild and unsettled countries. He declared that he would proceed to his destination, which was Altar. He diverged somewhat from the road to Altar to the little town of Caborca, still having faith in the plighted word of Pesquiera, and, surrounded by a multitude of enemies, he surrendered his command upon the assurance that he and his men would be transported safely across the line to their own country. As soon as they had surrendered, an order was received from Pesquiera to shoot them all. It is said that Gabilonda, who was in command of the Mexican forces, refused to carry out this order, and resigned his commission, taking with him a boy about 14 years old by the name of Evans, and retiring with him to Hermosillo. The Americans were divided into lots of ten, and all shot. The head of Crabb, it is said, was pickled in mescal and sent to the city of Mexico as an evidence of the patriotism of Pesquiera in expelling the Americans from Mexican soil.

In the meantime news was conveyed to Tucson of the desperate straits in which the Crabb party was, and an expedition of 27 men was organized by Charles Tozer and Grant Oury to go to their relief. Before they had formed a junction with Crabb, he and all his party had been executed, and the relief party fought their way back across the American line, fighting every inch of the way. They arrived in the most forlorn condition, many wounded and sick. Thus ended the last filibustering expedition, if such it can be

called, from California. The friends of Crabb, in that state, will always hold the name of Pesquiera in abhorrence, being well convinced that his death was caused by deceit and treachery.

The following account of an expedition from Tucson to join Crabb, by one of its members, John G. Capron, will, no doubt, be of interest to the reader:

“In the winter of 1856-57, there was an agreement entered into between the Governor of Sonora, Judge Heydenfeldt and ex-Senator Crabb of California, which was about as follows:

“Governor Pesquiera was to furnish lands for settlement on the Yaqui River for over two hundred settlers. Judge Heydenfeldt was to take two hundred or more by vessel from San Francisco to Point Lobos, which is about ninety miles from the town of Caborca in Mexico. This was to be the meeting place of the two forces, Crabb to come down overland with not less than one hundred men, and there make their camp, and Governor Pesquiera would then inform his people that these men were to have a free pass to these lands on the Yaqui River.

“The old Indigo family had a claim on a large tract of land there, and his son-in-law Mr. Ainsa, confirmed the story told me by the two Crabb officers. When the officers told me this tale, I asked them why they should go down there in two separate parties instead of going directly by vessel, to the Yaqui River. Their reply was that they were in hopes of increasing their numbers as they went down by land; also it was the wish of the Governor of Sonora that they should make the trip this way, as he wanted to get as many

as possible to go, even to the number of five hundred, as each of these men was to have one hundred and sixty acres of land.

“Two of Crabb’s officers left the party and came to Tucson hunting recruits to fill up Crabb’s number to one hundred if possible. He got some in Tucson and went on up the Santa Cruz River to Calabasas, where four companies of cavalry under command of Major Stein were camped. I was there with my team arranging to put in hay for the government.

“In my first talk with these two officers, I was a little skeptical about the success of their scheme. Colonel Tozier, who seemed to be the most intimate with Mr. Crabb, told me all the details of the plan, and the object. After consulting and talking it over with several men around there, we concluded that we would go down with them to Caborca, and there talk the matter over with Heydenfeldt and Crabb.

“Our understanding was that there would be no possible danger of having to fight our way through Sonora. If we had supposed that we had to filibuster Sonora, none of us would have thought of going. There were twenty-six of us who concluded to accompany them. The names of these men I cannot give in full. Those I remember were: three men from Tucson—Oury, Woods, and one whose name I do not know. My party consisted of a German named Foulke, Green, Thomas, Wilson, and a man from Alabama named Reed, and two young men who were travelling through the country. By ‘my party’ I mean that we messed together, I having two pack animals. The party also included

Chambers, a carpenter, who was the oldest man, a young Texan, called Wilkins—a royally brave fighter; and Forbes, Smith, Slater and Hart. Hart was from Texas, was about forty-five years of age, tall and slim, and a man who never got tired. The two officers, Major Woods and Colonel Tozier, brought the count up to nineteen of the twenty-six, leaving seven unaccounted for.

“The Yaquis had been very firm friends of the former Governor Manuel Gandara, and were constantly making trouble, and Governor Pesquiera believed that if he could get a large settlement of Americans down in their country it would be the means of controlling them. Don Fernando Indigo was at one time very wealthy and was called the Casa Fuerte of Sonora. He claimed large tracts of land in the Yaqui country and would willingly have given a large portion of these to have a strong American settlement there. This is what caused the making of the contract between Judge Heydenfeldt and Crabb, and there is no doubt but what it would have been successful if the number specified, two hundred or more men, had arrived at Caborca.

“This party of twenty-six left the fort, I think, about the middle of March, and at the first camp elected our officers. They were: Granville Oury, Captain; Forbes, First Lieutenant; Smith, Second Lieutenant. Capron was Sergeant and, of course, had all the work to do.

“Two or three of our party had been through that country before, so we had no trouble to avoid all towns. We found no dwelling places until we arrived at a large ranch called La Posa. The people had all gone into the house and bar-

ricaded the doors. We made camp there, and while we were eating our lunch a Mexican gentleman came riding up and saluted us. Our captain, speaking good Spanish, said: 'Come and take lunch with us.' He excused himself and asked where we were going. We told him. Then he asked our object, and we explained the whole matter to him, saying that we were in no way filibustering. He seemed reluctant to say anything, from which we could infer what our reception might be on arrival at Caborca. But we took it for granted from some things he said that Crabb was already there, so we hurried away as soon as possible, and made a rapid march to get there before anything could happen to Crabb.

"On our way we fell in with a young Mexican who had been raised in California and who spoke good English. We asked him to go with us to the town. He said he would rather not, for fear some of his people would think he was helping us. We informed him that we would take him prisoner, and that would relieve him. He said, very pleasantly, 'All right, under that condition I will go with you.'

"He talked very freely about the situation in the town; said Crabb had been there for three or four days, and that there were at least eleven hundred armed men surrounding the town; Crabb had thrown himself into the church and barricaded the doors the best he could. We had heard several cannon shots, and he told us that they had two cannon there and that if they had not already done so, they would soon demolish the church doors and kill Crabb and his party.

“As we marched down the ravine we came to an open place of about four hundred or five hundred yards, and on the opposite side of us the timber was full of armed men. A man, finely mounted, rode out, holding up his hand, came within about one hundred and fifty yards of us, and asked us to send one of our men to meet him and have a talk. Our Captain Oury met him. They talked for some ten minutes, when Oury returned to us. He said they had Crabb secure, and were going to send him under escort out of the country, and if we would deliver up our arms, they would do the same by us. Whether he told us Crabb had already surrendered, I do not remember, but my impression is that he did. We entered into a consultation and told them plainly that we would never deliver up our arms; that if we could get Crabb to go with us, all right, but under no other condition.

“We then asked the young man with us the best way to get into Caborca and get Crabb, if he had not already surrendered. He told us he thought the best way was to wait until dark, then go down the ravine where the church stood on the bank. We asked him how to get into the church. He said there was, he believed, a door by which we could get into the back end of the church. We tried to induce the young man to go to Crabb and let him know where we were so that he could come out the back door and join us. He said that it would be an impossibility for him even to attempt it. We then concluded that we had no possible way of getting to Crabb, for even if we could reach the rear of the church, how could we enter it? They knew that we were

close at hand and would be watching every movement we made.

"Some of our party criticized Crabb very severely for placing himself in such a position, knowing as he did that the enemy's forces would be constantly augmented and that the enemy would soon murder the last one of them, while by keeping in the open field, he could have made his way through to the Arizona line.

"While waiting in the river bed for night, we were comparatively well protected from their shots, as the brush was thick, and the bank of the stream nearly twenty feet high and steep. But we could not keep our horses from moving, and whenever they would see a movement, they would shoot; consequently all our horses were killed. We were returning their fire, however, and soon they became very cautious how they put their heads over the bank.

"Our first lieutenant, Mr. Forbes, was a little distance from me, and I saw him make a peculiar motion to get near me. I asked him if he were shot. He said yes. I reached him and found he was wounded in the fleshy portion of the thigh. He had a musket ball there, but it was not very deeply imbedded in the flesh. I took out my butcher knife, caught up the ball and flesh, pressed the ball as near the skin as I possibly could, and gave the flesh a slash; but I did not succeed in cutting deeply enough to reach the ball. He said, 'Your knife is the sharpest knife I ever heard of.' Smith told him I should have to give another slash. I cut it again, and out came the ball.

"I cleaned the wound out the best way I could, stopped it up with his handkerchief that he had

round his neck, then bound it up as tight as I could with another big black handkerchief.

"We got together as soon as it was dark and concluded we would cut our way out and go as far as we could before daylight. There was a cattle trail leading up the bank, and as soon as we got on to the level, we would shoot at anything we saw moving. The result was the rest of us all got out without being hurt. We then started on the back track as near as we could see, leaving the town of Piticuito to our right.

"Our man Hart from Texas said that he had never been lost in his life, and we believed that he could lead us through the woods, which were very dense, making it almost an impossibility to have anything to guide us by. We travelled all night, and as the day began to break we heard the roosters crowing and found that we were only about a half mile from the town of Piticuito. Here we found that the whole of our party was not with us. It seems as we charged up the bank some of them became separated from us—three men with Oury in one party, eight men with Mr. Reed and two boys in the other, leaving sixteen with us. But they had made no mistake in the woods, and were all ahead of us.

"There was a gap in the hills at which we had stopped to get water as we went down. This we could see from the plains and knew they were some place ahead of us on their way to the water.

"About two o'clock we were hurrying along to the best of our ability. Fifty-two of the National Lancers of Sonora overtook us. They came up first on our right, halted, front-faced, and the order of charge was given. They came

on to within three or four hundred yards of us when, with five of our longest shotted guns, we picked off two or three of their number. This made them a little sick, and they retreated, then came around as they supposed to get out of the arroyos on the other side of us, or rather in front of us, and made another charge, repeating the same tactics, hallooing and yelling and shooting with their old muskets.

“They did not get very close to us, but one of the balls struck me on the right arm about six inches above the wrist. The wound bled very freely, and when Wilkinson saw me stumbling along covered with blood, he nabbed the horse which Forbes was on and which I had taken from a tree as we charged out of the woods, and said: ‘You get off, Capron is badly wounded.’ He brought the horse to where I was and threw me on, putting little Foulke up behind me to keep me from falling off. He did well for a little time, but at last I fainted from loss of blood and he dropped me. They looked at me and concluded I was dead, so that they took my six-shooter and gun on with them, leaving me with no weapons. Of course, as soon as I fainted, the blood stopped flowing, and I came to. I got to my feet and ran into a little flat ravine away from the track as far as I could, when the blood started and I fainted again. How long I lay there, I do not know, but the first thing I heard was the sound of a galloping horse coming toward me. You can rest assured that I hugged the ground very close. It was a wounded man, returning and seemingly looking neither to the right nor to the left.

"I again got under way and went on some little distance when I fell down into an arroyo about three feet deep. I lay there until I got thoroughly rested, and found that this arroyo led directly to the pass in the hills where I wished to go. I hurried on as fast as I possibly could, suffering very much from thirst. As I neared the pass, I saw the dust of the Lancers returning homeward. I felt much relieved at this, as I knew the way was open to the water. As I entered the pass, I saw someone moving upon the first rise of the ground, and I soon found it was some of our party. I pushed on. Some of them saw me and hastened down the side of the hill and helped me up, as they saw I was wounded.

"There is growing all over that country a cactus called a vianaga. We took our butcher knives and cut the thorns from the outside. The plant grows in ridges and we cut the ridges in strips and sucked the water from them. No one can ever perish from thirst in that country who knows this fact.

"After resting for some little time, we started on, not knowing what had become of the party I had been with. Two of the men, finding me so weak, helped me along, one on either side of me, and by taking a slow and easy pace, we got to the water about sunrise. The first thing we saw as we reached the water was the dead body of Woods who was with Granville Oury when he came from Tucson. Our party soon made a hole in the sand and buried him, covering him with all the stones we could find in the immediate vicinity.

"We found a wounded horse, took the meat from the neck and roasted it. I could eat and

drink very little. We stayed here until the rest of the party came up, when we counted them and found two missing—the old carpenter, Mr. Chambers, and Mr. Thomas. I accounted for their loss from the fact that Thomas had talked with me two or three times and asked me to leave the party and go with him; he said he knew the people would not injure us. I told him point-blank ‘no’; that they would kill us in a minute. And sure enough we found afterwards that that was their fate.

“We stayed there all that day and night and the next day until it got cool in the evening, when we started on our way back across the country.

“Before starting we took the entrails of the horse, tied the ends with horsehair, and threw them across the back of a mule we had found there—unhurt as we supposed, as we could see no wound. In the panniers of the saddle we found some pinole, two panoches and some tallow. They gave me one of the panoches and the pinole to eat, but I could not swallow. I carried it on with me.

“That night was dark but stars were visible. We had travelled about three hours when I gave out. They put me on the mule with the water bags and held me there. We went on about one hour, when the mule laid down and died as a result of a bullet wound he had received. The water all leaked out of our bags by hitting against the cactus and oozing out.

“We travelled for some little time, when I lay down seemingly exhausted. Soon after our man Hart came back to where I was lying and gave me a terrible kicking which angered me so much that I jumped to my feet and hunted for my six-

shooter; but, lo, I had none. After that I had no trouble travelling along with the rest.

“About three o’clock in the morning we arrived at the River Altar, just below the Town of Tubutama. We built a fire and roasted some of the old horse. I ate some, finished my pinole and felt much relieved. We stayed there probably an hour, and moved on up the river to a place called Estanque. As we came to this place, we found a large fire with a large bed of coals and women and children asleep in some open sheds. The men had left their guns standing around some chairs. We took the guns and threw them into the river. They had killed a beef, which was cut up and piled on the hide. We immediately threw some on to the coals and commenced as fast as we could to cook and eat it, the women giving us salt and a few tortillas.

“The nights in the month of March are quite chilly and I, having torn the sleeve from my wounded arm and burned off one of the legs of my pantaloons from hugging the fire, was in a very dilapidated condition. One of the women got up and gave me a blanket to wrap myself in. I thanked her, of course. We took what meat we could and started on our way.

“Several times during the day, we would see horsemen on the hills, and one of our sharpshooters would drop a ball very close to them. They got cautious about showing themselves after a few shots had been fired. We got along very well until we were nearly up to the Euzne Ranch, going through a cut that had been made through a ridge of land going down to the river. Here we were fired upon, and one of our men by the

name of Hughes was killed. We went on past the ranch into a very dense monte with only a trail through it, and camped. We there killed a beef and cooked it in some large copper kettles which we found at the ranch. We stayed there a day and a night, then proceeded on our way. We found that beef without seasoning did not satisfy hunger very long.

“During the shooting when Hughes was killed, a man by the name of Slater was shot through the leg in the muscle under the knee, and it was, no doubt, very sore. I had taken a prickly pear, thrown it on the coals, heated it thoroughly, cut it in two, and bound it on my wound. Every time we stopped, I would have a fresh one put on. Of course, as the plaster got dry, it would stick very tight, and pulling it off would necessarily hurt some. They did the same with Slater’s leg, using two prickly pears, putting one on each side of the limb. The second time he was to be dressed, he shouted for me to come and take off the plaster as I knew how it hurt. I said to Slater: ‘Why not jerk it off yourself?’ He said: ‘Oh, I can’t.’ I went over to where he was lying on the ground, took hold of the plasters—one in each hand—gave a quick jerk, and with a yell from Slater, it was all over.

“As we were going along, we spied a man leading a mule and riding one. We soon saw that it was Dodson, and never was a man more welcome than he. Oury, who was ahead of us, had told him we were on the way, probably not far behind. We quickly unsaddled the mule carrying the provisions, and at once made coffee, and what a feast we had. We stayed there and

all went to sleep while Dodson kept guard for us at least three hours; then went on and that evening, about dark, arrived at his ranch. We passed two days there, and had a good deal of pleasure rolling one another over in the sand and picking out the cactus. Our feet were in a very pitiable condition, mine especially.

“Here our party scattered, Tozier, Woods and several others going down the Santa Cruz River to Tucson; others, including myself, going up the river to Calabasas. About a mile below the post was a store kept by Hayden, and a good friend of mine he proved.

“Foulke, Green and Wilson of my party got there one day ahead of me, and had made camp in a deserted jacal built against a long leaning willow tree. The long sacaton grass placed on poles leaning against this tree made a very comfortable house. Mr. Hayden told me I could have anything in that store I needed. No man could be poorer than I was at that time, for I had not one whole garment left; but I was soon relieved of all my trouble with the exception of my sore feet.

“There was considerable travel coming and going to the post, and I made arrangements to entertain anyone who might wish for food or shelter. Little Foulke was a first class cook, and Major Stein, commander of the post, was very kind to us, as were all of the officials. We soon had provisions in abundance, with fresh meat whenever I sent for it.

“Some months after I returned to Arizona, I met two Mexicans who were present at the killing of Crabb and party. They said Crabb had

surrendered on the day that we were there, and the following morning all were taken out to the cemetery, placed against the wall and shot. Only one small Mexican boy who had come with them was spared.

“When they were being arranged for the shooting, an ex-sheriff—from Tuolumne county, I think—who had opposed the idea of their giving up their arms, said: ‘Now, Governor,’ (meaning Crabb) ‘see what your faith in Mexican officials has cost us all. Good-bye.’ ”

CHAPTER XXI.

EARLY DAYS IN ARIZONA.

TUCSON—POPULATION—LAWLESSNESS—CHARLES D. POSTON—GRANVILLE H. OURY—WILLIAM S. OURY—ESTEVAN OCHOA—PENNINGTON FAMILY—GENERAL STONE—DR. C. H. LORD—W. W. WILLIAMS—PETER R. BRADY—WILLIAM KIRKLAND—HIRAM STEVENS—SAMUEL HUGHES—SYLVESTER MOWRY—JOHN G. CAPRON—SOLOMON WARNER—GENERAL WADSWORTH—COLONEL ED. CROSS—C. H. MEYER—FIRST AMERICAN STORE IN TUCSON—FIRST FLOURING MILL—TUCSON ONLY WALLED CITY IN UNITED STATES—“TUCSON A CENTURY AGO”—ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF SURVEY AND LOCATION OF YUMA.

At this time Tucson was the leading town or settlement of Arizona. It had a population of perhaps a thousand, mostly Mexicans. The American flag had been raised there by a company of United States Dragoons, but its citizenship was not of a class to inspire confidence in peaceful, law-abiding Americans. In the absence of civil law, the nearest courts being in New Mexico, every man was a law unto himself, and the consequence was that its graveyards were largely filled with the victims of private quarrels, but there were, among its citizenship, many of that class of Americans who marked the trail of civilization across the continent, many of whom inscribed their names in the early history of our State. Among these may be mentioned



W. H. KIRKLAND AND WIFE.

Charles D. Poston whom many of us remember in later years. He was one of the first arrivals, coming here in 1856 for the purpose of opening up and operating rich silver mines. Others were Granville (or Grant) H. Oury; William S. Oury, one of the participators in the Camp Grant Massacre in 1871; Estevan Ochoa, for whom Ochoa Street in Tucson is named; the Pennington family, in whose honor Pennington Street in Tucson is named; General Stone, whose name is perpetuated in Stone Avenue in Tucson; Dr. C. H. Lord and W. W. Williams, both of whom engaged in the first banking business in Tucson; Peter R. Brady associated in later years in the Pima County Bank with the Jacobs Brothers, and who became well known as a politician; William Kirkland, who, it is said, first raised the American flag in Tucson, and who, it is also said, was the first white man to marry a white woman in the State of Arizona; Hon. Hiram Stevens, who was sent to Congress in 1875, and served two terms; Samuel Hughes, still living, and affectionately known to everyone in Tucson, and to many others throughout the State as "Uncle Sammy Hughes"; Sylvester Mowry, who owned and worked the Mowry Mine; John G. Capron, who was one of the members of the party organized in Tucson to join Henry A. Crabb and his party; Solomon Warner, General Wadsworth, Col. Ed. Cross, editor and duelist, and C. H. Meyer, after whom Meyer Street in Tucson is named. Men they were, men of daring and courage, men who distinguished themselves in many different ways, in public life, as honored citizens, taking part in many desperate fights with the Indians.

In 1856 Solomon Warner, above mentioned, established the first American store in the "Old Pueblo," which event was speedily followed by other American stores. His stock of goods was brought in from California upon the hurricane decks of a mule train, which was, in that time, the favorite (and only) method of freighting. He also established the first flouring mill in the Territory, the ruins of which now stand on the west bank of the Santa Cruz river, where, at that time, the village was located in what is now the southwestern part of the city, from time immemorial "Old Tucson," and within the old walls erected by Padre Garces for the protection of the inhabitants against the incursions of the Apaches. Life in this far country was not ideal; lurking foes lay in wait to ambush the traveller at every turn of the trail. The murderous Apache, and the Mexican outlaw, rivalled each other in their deeds of pillage, robbery and slaughter.

The exact date of the founding of the village or city of Tucson is somewhat uncertain. Some writers claim that it was first located about the year 1555, and that it is the oldest city in the United States. Others, however, claim that it was not a settlement until the latter part of the seventeenth century, when the missions along the Santa Cruz were established by Father Kino, and that Tucson was a visitation attached to San Xavier del Bac. Of one thing, however, there seems to be no doubt, and that is that Tucson, whatever the exact date of its founding may have been, was the first and only walled city ever existing in the United States. The descriptions

of this wall differ in some details, but the fact remains that the town was walled for many years, probably not less than one hundred and fifty, and was built in the form of a square, the wall rising about five feet above the flat roofs of the houses, affording fine breastworks for the defense of the Pueblo; the rear ends of the houses were built into and against the heavy wall surrounding the little settlement. The only door allowed was the one opening into the open square in front. The flat roofs, in the summer time, furnished fine family sleeping rooms. The little fort was also built in the form of a square, with a tower at each corner, fitted with loopholes or small windows for outlooks, and for firing on raiding Indians or other enemies, and these towers or bastions were so constructed as to enfilade the walls, as well as to intimidate the approaching enemy. Artillery was suggested by two small cannon, which one writer naively says, "were more dangerous, however, to the garrison than to the enemy."

The enclosure formed by this wall occupied space bounded as follows: Beginning at Washington Street, thence south to Pennington; up Pennington to about the middle of the courthouse; thence north to Washington Street, along Washington Street to the place of beginning. A map, herewith shown, was made by Major Ferguson of the California Column, in 1861 or 1862, which shows the boundaries of the wall practically as above set forth. There were two entrances by immense doors made of heavy timber put solidly together, and these were invariably closed at night. One of these entrances,

stood where Alameda Street enters Main, and some of the old wall has been used in the construction of modern buildings.

It might be pertinent here to insert an article printed in the Tucson Citizen under date of June 21st, 1873, which is headed: "TUCSON A CENTURY AGO," and which is as follows:

"We met an old lady this week, who is supposed to be over one hundred years old, and was born in Tucson. Her name is Mariana Dias, and from her we obtained several historical items relating to old times, which were very interesting to us. She says as long ago as she can remember, Tucson consisted of a military post, surrounded by a corral, and that there were but two or three houses outside of it. The country was covered with horses and cattle, and on many of the trails they were so plentiful that it was quite inconvenient to get through the immense herds. They were valuable only for the hides and tallow, and a good sized steer was worth only three dollars. This country then belonged to Spain and the troops were paid in silver coin, and on all the coin the name of Ferdinand I., was engraved, and money was plentiful. Goods, such as they were, were brought from Sonora on pack animals. They had in those days no carts or wagons. The fields in front and below Tucson were cultivated and considerable grain was also raised upon the San Pedro. With an abundance of beef and the grain they raised, they always had an ample food supply. They had no communication with California and she never knew there was such a country until she had become an old woman. San

Xavier was built as long ago as she can remember, and the church in the valley in front of the town, and there was also a church in Court House square, which has gone to ruin and no trace is left of it. The priests were generally in good circumstances, and were supported by receiving a portion of the annual products, but for marriages, burials, baptisms and other church duties, they did not ask or receive any pay.

“Among the leading and wealthier men who lived here at that time, she mentioned the names of Epumusema Loreles, Santa Cruz, Ygnacio Pacheco, Rita Soso, Padre Pedro, and Juan Diaz. On inquiry about the Apaches she spoke with considerable feeling and said that many efforts had been made for peace with them, but every attempt had resulted in failure; that whatever promises they made, but a few days would pass before they proved treacherous and commenced murder and robbery again; that they murdered her husband in the field about two miles below Tucson and that most of her relatives had gone in the same way; that she was now left alone and would be in want but for such men as Samuel Hughes.

“She related the circumstances of one peace that was made about ninety years ago. It seems that the Apaches got the worst of a fight on the Arivaca Ranch; several were killed and the son of a chief was taken prisoner and brought to Tucson, and the Indians at once opened negotiations to obtain this boy. Colonel Carbon, in command of the Spanish forces, agreed with them that on a certain day the Indians should all collect here, and to prevent treachery and

being overpowered, he brought in at night, and concealed within the walls of the fort, all the men he could get from all the towns within one hundred and fifty miles. On the day appointed, the Indians came in vast numbers; all the plains around were black with them. The colonel then told them if they had come on a mission of peace they must lay down their arms and meet him as friends. They complied with his request, and then all the people inside the walls came out and went among them unarmed. The colonel gave them one hundred head of cattle and the boy prisoner was produced and turned over to his father, and they embraced each other and cried, and an era of reconciliation and peace seemed to have arrived. The boy told his father that he liked his captors so well that he desired to live with them, and in spite of the persuasions of the old man, he still insisted upon remaining, and the Indians were compelled to return to their mountain home without him. The boy was a great favorite with the people. Sometime afterwards he went to visit his people, but before leaving he saw everyone in the village and bade them goodbye, promising to return, which he did in fifteen days. A few days after his return, he took the small-pox and died. Very soon after his death, the Apaches commenced to murder and rob the same as before.

“The aged lady then remarked with apparently much feeling, that since her earliest recollection she had heard it said many times, ‘We are going to have peace with the Apaches,’ but every hope had been broken and she did not think we would have any peace as long as an Apache lived.

When she was a girl, the Apaches made two attempts to capture Tucson. The first time nearly all the soldiers and men were away. The Apaches learning of this, took advantage of the absence of the defenders and attacked the town, and would have taken it and murdered every one in it, but for the timely assistance of the Pima and Papago Indians, who came to the rescue in large numbers, attacking the Apaches on two sides, driving them off and killing many. The next time the sentinel on the hill west of town discovered them coming; he gave the alarm, and after a severe fight, the Indians were driven off. The Apaches had no firearms in those days, and were armed with spears, bows and arrows.

“She referred to the pleasant times they used to have when their wants were few and easily supplied, and told how they danced and played and enjoyed themselves. We asked her if she thought the people were happier than now; she did not seem inclined to draw comparisons, but remarked that if it had not been for the Apaches, they would hardly have known what trouble was. Crime was almost unknown and she never knew anyone to be punished more severely than being confined for a few days. The law required all strangers, unless they were of established reputation, to engage in some labor or business, within three days after their arrival, or leave the town, and to this regulation she attributes the exemption from crime. On inquiry as to whether they had liquor in those days, she said that she never knew a time when there was not plenty of mescal, but it was only on rare occa-

sions that anyone drank to excess, and then they acted to each other as brothers."

In Tubac was printed the first paper ever published in Arizona, its editor being the Colonel Ed. Cross before mentioned, who fought a bloodless duel with Lieut. Sylvester Mowry. This paper was called the "Arizonian" and was printed on the first printing press brought into the territory. This printing press was brought around the Horn and transported overland through California to Tubac. It was afterwards used in publishing the "Tombstone Nugget" and is now preserved among the curiosities of the Pioneer's Historical Society in Tucson.

In the meantime Colorado City had been formed on the Colorado River, as we have heretofore noted. An account of its survey and location by Charles D. Poston and party, is given in Pumpelly's "Across America and Asia." The party, having no money to pay Don Jaeger for their ferriage across the river, located the townsite on the Arizona side, surveyed and mapped the same, and gave their German friend a glowing account of the future possibilities of a steam ferry, and the large population which would inevitably people the new town, and had no difficulty in selling him several large lots and giving him a deed to one lot in exchange for \$25.00, his price for ferrying the party across the river. Outside of the military post which was located on the California side, there were but few settlers at what is now Yuma City, although it remained for many years the principal port of entry to Arizona from the west, and also to California from the East.

CHAPTER XXII.

EXPLORATIONS FOR WAGON ROADS—CAMELS.

FELIX AUBREY—APPROPRIATIONS BY CONGRESS FOR CAMELS—MAJOR HENRY C. WAYNE AND LIEUTENANT D. D. PORTER BRING CAMELS TO UNITED STATES—HABITS, ETC., OF CAMELS—LIEUTENANT E. F. BEALE'S EXPEDITION—USE OF CAMELS—LIEUTENANT BEALE'S ROUTE—ABANDONMENT OF CAMELS—CAPTURE AND EXPORTATION—GREEK GEORGE AND HI JOLLY.

Felix Aubrey, who was identified with the Santa Fe Trade, was the first explorer of a wagon route over the 35th parallel, he having driven a wagon all the way from San Jose, California, to Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 1854. Aubrey was accompanied by sixty men, and brought with him to Peralta the wagon which was driven the entire distance, thus furnishing irrefutable evidence that both a wagon road and a railroad were practicable to San Francisco over the 35th parallel. His notes of the journey were printed in the Missouri Republican of September 26th, 1854, and it is to be regretted that they are nowhere to be found in the Government reports, as Aubrey was a private citizen. He also drove over this route a band of sheep into California, without loss.

Aubrey, whose name is thus identified with the early history of Arizona, on his return from this last trip, met his death on the 18th of August, 1854, in Santa Fe, at the hands of Major Weightman in a personal encounter.

Aubrey's trip undoubtedly stirred up the Government to make a further exploration of that route with a view to establishing a wagon route for the benefit of emigrants into California.

In Senate Document, Second Session, 33rd Congress, Chapter 169, will be found the following:

"Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That the sum of thirty thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated under the direction of the War Department in the purchase of camels and importation of dromedaries, to be employed for military purposes. Approved March 3, 1855."

Jeff Davis, the Secretary of War, appointed Major Henry C. Wayne, of the United States Army, and Lieutenant D. D. Porter, of the United States Navy, to visit Cairo, Smyrna and other points in the East for the purpose of selecting the best camels and bringing them to the United States, to be used in transportation across what was then called "The Great American Desert." The camels were to be used as beasts of burden, their usual load being from six hundred pounds up to eight hundred pounds; the dromedaries to be used for express purposes. A daily journey for the camel was about thirty miles, but the dromedaries would go seventy-five. The advantage in substituting these animals for horses and mules over the desert country was that they did not require anything like the care of a horse or mule; that they could go for days without water and would subsist on the coarsest of grass and the sprouts of young trees. The camel was a hardy animal that could do good

work even in a cold climate. The information given in response to inquiries made in reference to them showed that while they travelled well over the plains in sand or gravel, yet they could also travel through a mountainous country, the rocks apparently having no effect upon their feet.

Upon the first expedition, Major Wayne brought over thirty-three of these animals, nine dromedaries or runners, twenty-three camels of burden, and one calf. Among them were two humpbacked Bactrian camels for use in breeding with the Arabian female. This cross breeding produced a hybrid something like our mule, with only one hump, but much stronger and more serviceable than the ordinary camel. Six Arabs, one of them a Bedouin of the Desert, and a professed camel doctor, came over with the herd, which was successfully transported from Smyrna to Indianola, Texas, where they were landed on May 14, 1856. After they were rested up from their journey, they were driven by easy stages to San Antonio where experiments were made by Major Wayne who was in charge, all of which were very satisfactory. It was found that three camels could carry as much as six mules could draw in a wagon over that country, and could travel twice as fast as the mules. They could, upon occasion, for a day or two at a time, carry burdens of eight hundred to a thousand pounds.

These animals were brought over in the United States vessel "Supply," Lieutenant D. D. Porter, afterwards an Admiral in the Union Navy in the Civil War, commanding. He made

a second trip to Africa, and, returning, landed at Indianola February 17th, 1857, another herd of these animals.

In the fall of 1857 Lieutenant Edward F. Beale, U. S. Topographical Engineers, was ordered to open a wagon road from Fort Defiance, New Mexico, to the eastern frontier of California, and a part of the herd of the camels was put at his disposal for this expedition. The journey was through a wilderness of forest, plain and desert, and occupied forty-eight days, when the Colorado River was reached on October 18th. Lieutenant Beale, in speaking of the work performed by the camels on this trip, declares that they saved the members of the expedition very many hardships, and excited the admiration of the whole party by their ability and willingness to perform the tasks set them. Being determined to give a most thorough demonstration of the practicability of using camels on such expeditions, he subjected them to trials which no other animals could have endured. They carried the water on the desert for the mules; they traversed stretches of country covered with the sharpest volcanic rocks without injury to their feet; with heavy packs they climbed over mountains where mules found it difficult to go, even with the assistance of their dismounted drivers, and, to the surprise of all the party, the camels plunged into rivers without hesitation and swam them with ease. Lieutenant Beale left San Antonio June 25th, 1857, and, on July 11th, he says:

“The camels are now keeping up easily with the train, and came into camp with the wagons.

My fears as to their feet giving out, as I had been led to believe from those who seemed to know, have so far proved entirely unfounded, though the character of the road is exceedingly trying to brutes of any kind. My dogs cannot travel at all upon it, and after going a short distance run to the wagons and beg to be taken in. The camels, on the contrary, have not evinced the slightest distress or soreness; and this is the more remarkable, as mules or horses, in a very short time, get so sore-footed that shoes are indispensable. The road is very hard and firm, and strewn all over it is a fine, sharp, angular, flinty gravel—very small, about the size of a pea—and the least friction causes it to act like a rasp upon the opposing surface. The camel has no shuffle in his gait, but lifts his feet perpendicularly from the ground, and replaces them, without sliding, as a horse or other quadrupeds do. This, together with the coarsely granulated and yielding nature of his foot, which, though very tough, like gutta percha, yields sufficiently without wearing off, enables them to travel continuously in a country where no other barefoot beast would last a week."

These camels, let it be said in passing, were under the charge of Orientals, "Greek George" and "Hi Jolly," who came with them from the Orient and attended to their packing.

In several places in his diary, Lieutenant Beale speaks in the same laudatory terms of the use of the camel, but it is significant that in his report to the Secretary of War, bearing date April 26th, 1858, there is no allusion made to these beasts. He speaks, however, in high terms

of the route passed over, and, in reference to the climate he says:

“Accompanying my journal is a table showing the thermometer at its highest elevation and lowest depression during the day on our outward journey in the months of September and October, and another kept on my return in January and February for the same purpose. A comparison of the two established the interesting fact that one may travel the road in winter and summer without suffering the extremes of heat or cold.”

In reference to the route he says:

“As far as the San Francisco Mountains, the road needs scarcely any other improvements than a few bridges. In one place alone a bridge at the Canyon Diablo would save twenty-five or thirty-five miles travel, and on the whole road its length might be shortened by subsequent explorations and by straightening elbows, one hundred miles. As this will inevitably become the great emigrant road to California, as well as that by which all stock from New Mexico will reach this place, it is proper that the Government should put it in such condition as to relieve the emigrant and stock drivers of as many of the hardships incident to their business as possible.”

To do this he recommended that water dams be constructed at short intervals over the entire route, and that a few military posts be established, and a few bridges constructed, as he was of the opinion that if this were done, the whole emigration to the Pacific Coast would pursue this one line, instead of being divided and scattered over a half a dozen different routes.

He calls attention to the fact that it would be economical on the part of the Government to protect only one line instead of a dozen, and that the money thus saved would pay all the expenses attending the construction of the road. He says:

"I presume there can be no further question as to the practicability of the country near the thirty-fifth parallel for a wagon road, since Aubrey, Whipple and myself, have all travelled it successfully with wagon, neither of us in precisely the same line, and yet through very much the same country. * * Starting with a drove of three hundred and fifty sheep, that number was increased by births upon the road, but not one was lost during the journey."

In order at all times to produce a sufficient quantity of water, he recommends a system of dams across the ravines and canyons. He says that during the year he was engaged upon this work, he had not lost a single man, nor was there the slightest case of sickness in the camp, that the medicine chest proved only an incumbrance. Continuing, he says:

"My surgeon having left me at the commencement of the journey, I did not employ, nor did I have need of one on the entire road. Even in midwinter, and on the most elevated portions of the road, not a tent was spread, the abundant fuel rendering them unnecessary for warmth and comfort."

He winds up his report by asking for an appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars, to build bridges, cut off elbows and straighten the road from point to point and make other im-

provements and explorations, claiming that the public lands, which would be brought into the market and sold within three years after the opening of this road would repay fourfold the appropriation asked.

Lieutenant Beale's route led through the Zuni Villages to Navaho Springs, passing south of the San Francisco Mountains and crossing the Colorado about one hundred and twenty-five miles above The Needles.

After this expedition, the camels were used in various capacities during the time of the overland stages, but proved to be utterly useless, probably because inexperienced men were left to handle them. The true Westerner had no use for camels; horses and mules had an unconquerable fear of them; packers and soldiers detested them. In or about the year 1863, the remainder of the herd, about 14, was turned loose in Arizona, and left to make their own living without the aid or assistance of man. At this writing it is believed they are extinct.

In the year 1876, two Frenchmen gathered together thirty odd head roaming over the desert section north of the Salt and Gila rivers, and took them to Nevada for the purpose of packing wood and salt into the Comstock mines. These ungainly beasts, however, so frightened the freighters' mules and became such a nuisance that the old Comstock freighters notified the Frenchmen to take the animals out of the country, or else they would be shot. The Frenchmen then took them down to some mining camp in Sonora, which was the last ever heard of this particular band of animals.

In 1879, according to the Expositor of September 26th of that year, a great many camels were running wild along the banks of the Gila in Arizona. They were a source of much annoyance to the teamsters, sometimes making their appearance on the highway and frightening mules and horses. "We understand," says that paper, "that arrangements are being made to collect the animals together and take them to Colorado where it is thought they can be sold at good prices."

In the Prescott Democrat of December 30th, 1881, there is this reference to the Arizona camels:

"A capture has at last been made by Indians in the vicinity of Gila Bend, and last Wednesday a carload passed through on their way to the East. While they stopped at the depot quite a large crowd gathered to see them. The carload consisted of seven large and two small ones and were consigned to a circus menagerie at Kansas City. They were in charge of an Egyptian, Al Zel, who had been sent out expressly to get them. They do not differ from ordinary camels seen in this country except that they far exceed in size any ever yet exhibited. The price said to have been paid for them is trifling, the Indians being very anxious to get rid of them as their horses and cattle are greatly frightened by them. There are a large number still in that vicinity."

A dispatch from Tucson, under date of November 28th, 1913, says:

"John Nelson, ax man with the Ajo railroad surveying party, at the La Favorita saloon on South Meyer Street last Monday afternoon,

solemnly averred that he had seen and hunted camels between the Baboquivari and Gunsight Mountains. He refers the doubting Thomases to Mr. Douglas, a draughtsman now at Gila Bend working up the results of the survey into maps, for confirmation.

"It was one morning about five weeks ago, as I lay in my tent, that I saw the head of an animal peeking at us over the mesquite trees, which stood 15 feet high at the least. It could not have been a horse.

"Have you ever seen a camel?" was asked.

"I have, at circuses. Well, later in the day, Douglas and I mounted our horses and went out to hunt for the beast. We found three of them and ran them across the desert. They outstripped our horses."

From this last statement it would appear that there are still some roving bands of camels along the deserts of the Lower Gila in the Ajo country. That part of the state is almost exclusively desert, and would make a fine home for these animals, if any remain, but the probabilities are that the camels not accounted for, have long since been killed by the Indians, and made into "jerky."

This is not the first time camels were introduced as beasts of burden into Western America. The same plan was tested in Spanish America three centuries before Jefferson Davis' time. The first animals imported into the New World were six females and a male, for which Pedro Portocarrero, of Truxilo, paid 8,400 ducats. They proved as useless in the deserts of Peru as they did later upon the sand dunes of the Gila.

Humboldt recommended the use of them for freighting on the Mexican and Peruvian Saharas, declaring that their earlier failures were on account of political "pull." Charles F. Lummis says:

"Major Wayne, chief hero of the camel experiment, is probably the only man that ever drove a pair of dromedaries to harness in the United States, outside of a circus. He did this in 1856, while bringing his charges up to Texas from the seaboard, and found the team satisfactory."

Of the abilities and habits of the camel, J. M. Guinn writes:

"He could travel sixteen miles an hour. Abstractly that was a virtue; but when camp was struck in the evening, and he was turned loose to sup off the succulent sage-brush, either to escape the noise and profanity of the camp or to view the country, he was always seized with a desire to take a *pasear* of twenty-five or thirty miles before supper. While this only took an hour or two of his time, it involved upon his unfortunate driver the necessity of spending half the night in camel chasing; for if he was not rounded up there was a delay of half the next day in starting the caravan. He could carry a ton—this was a commendable virtue—but when two heavily laden 'ships of the desert' collided on a narrow trail, as they always did when an opportunity offered, and tons of supplies were scattered over miles of plain and the unfortunate camel pilots had to gather up the flotsam of the wreck, it is not strange that the mariners of the arid wastes anathematized the whole

camel race from the beast the prophet rode down to the smallest imp of Jefferson Davis' importation."

Greek George, who accompanied Lieutenant Beale in his wagon road expedition, and, with Hi Jolly, had charge of the camels, when the Civil War commenced, left Arizona, and settled in California, where he died only a few years ago. Hi Jolly made his home in Arizona, being employed in various capacities by the military, several times as scout. He made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain a pension from the United States Government, and died in poverty about the year 1902.

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